

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF

MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

THE INVENTION OF THE ARCH.

IN ADDITION TO THE

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF

MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

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THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

AMERICAN ANTIQUA

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF
MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA,

WITH FURTHER OBSERVATIONS
CONCERNING
THE INVENTION OF THE ARCH,
IN ADDITION TO THOSE MADE IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN APPENDIX,
FOR THE MORE FULL ELUCIDATION OF THE SUBJECT.

BY
EDWARD KING, ESQ. F.R.S. F.A.S.

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1806.

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MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

BOOK IV. CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION.

In advancing further with that regular Investigation of the Progress of architecture in our Island, which it was the avowed intention of this Work to pursue, our attention must now be turned to an Inquiry concerning *Saxon Ecclesiastical Structures*, and the *Sources* from whence the peculiar architectural ornaments, with which they are adorned, and the odd proportions with which the whole are framed, *were derived*.—But in doing this we shall be led (and not unnecessarily) to adopt, what may perhaps to some persons be found an unexpected method of proceeding in such a kind of Inquiry.

For whoever peruses the ensuing pages, looking only for an account of the various forms of pillars, capitals, and arches;—and for measures, and plans of buildings;—and mere descriptions, and explanations of plates,—will perhaps be much disappointed.—Such representations, and such descriptions will indeed be found given in a great many instances, as we proceed.—But they are not, nor cannot be alone sufficient, to make us acquainted with those truths, and facts, which are needful to be brought to light, for the full and clear elucidation of the present subject;—there

being peculiarities in several parts of antient Architecture that are utterly inexplicable, and unaccountable, except from a close attention to all the circumstances of the *history* of coinciding times.

Deep reflexion therefore on the State of Religion, and even Philosophical Contemplation, must be brought in aid, and not be deemed deviations from the proper course of Inquiry.

Neither ought such reflexions, or such attention to minute circumstances of the varying state of mankind, in this, and in other countries, to be condemned as mere digressions, even if they were not so needful for clear elucidation as they really are; because most surely, to observe *how* the scenes of life have changed from age to age;—*what* have been the several modes, and forms of living;—in *what* simplicity men begun at first, and by what degrees they bent their wayward course, through luxury, ambition, opening prospects of advantage, and unavoidable disappointments, must be esteemed, even in its own nature, a more useful employment, than merely to contemplate the forms, and aggregate bulk of stone-work:—and because, to distinguish cautiously, in magnificent piles of building, *what* new forms, and modifications have been added, by imitation of conquerors, or of the conquered;—*what* by the inventions of regular art;—*what* by religion,—and *what* by superstition,—and *what* by mere accident;—whilst it opens to our view every source and spring of varying architecture, is more satisfactory to the mind, than either mere political history, or than a mere technical study of art: and, at the same time, perhaps, may tend to lead the mind to higher objects; and to unfold somewhat of that wondrous clue, whereby imperceptibly mankind are, by Divine Providence, raised from all the depressions of a fallen abject state, to a noble enlargement of their faculties;—to a meliorated scene of things on earth;—and to mental exertions *here*, even somewhat preparatory to mental exertions in a more glorious state hereafter.

The fits and starts, however, by which the progressive work of the improvement of the state of man on earth has advanced, and the odd deviations by which it has been sometimes turned aside, and checked, or even made to become retrograde, and relapsing into a state of barbarism, are most remarkable;—and shew an

over-ruling Agency, and controul, that baffles all common expectation, and all common conclusions.

As it has been remarked, by a celebrated politician of the last age, Sir William Temple,* "that nothing is so fallacious as "to reason upon the counsels or conduct of princes or states from "what may be conceived to be the *true interest* of their countries;" so with still greater justice may it be said, that nothing is more fallacious, than to reason upon the progress of Civilization at large, and of the advances made in Architecture in particular, from what might be expected from the powers of the human mind, improving the knowledge it has previously been made acquainted with.—And of this there are many instances.

In a preceding Volume,+ it has been shewn, from undeniable facts, that there is the utmost reason to believe, *the Arch never existed, in any kind of architecture on earth, till some short time before the Augustan age.*

The facts already stated to prove this, remain uncontroverted;—but it has, by way of doubt, been intimated by some ingenious persons, that, considering the powers of the human mind, there is hardly a possibility of supposing *the usefulness of the Arch*, for the purposes of building, should have been unknown to *Euclid*,—who lived nearly a century before *Archimedes*, and was so well versed in geometrical demonstrations;—or even in prior ages, in which *vaultings* are sometimes mentioned.

The fair answer to be given is;—that it may indeed have been *hardly possible*;—but that it is not at all more surprising, than that, when the *Romans* well knew the attracting magnetical property of the loadstone, they should yet not have been acquainted with its *polarity*;—Or, than their not having been acquainted with the art of *printing*;—when yet they were so well accustomed to impress letters, inscriptions, and stamps, on earthen ware, and other substances.

Neither is it more surprising, than that the poor inhabitants of New South Wales should have been found so totally unacquainted with any tolerable mode of building huts for dwelling,—or with any mode of preparing plants, or any kind of bark of trees, for

* Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 444, folio.

+ Vol. II. from p. 223 to p. 273.

clothing ;—when yet the New Zealanders, and the inhabitants of so many of the South Sea Islands, under very similar circumstances of situation, had discovered both ;*—or when these very people themselves were well enough acquainted with the art of forming wood into long barbed spears ; and had discovered a considerable degree of ingenuity in making shields ;—and afterwards, on our people becoming more acquainted with them, were ready enough to learn some apprehension of our language ; and how to use our implements both for husbandry, and building ;—and had for ages attained skill sufficient to adorn most of their instruments, and even the surfaces of some rocks, with rude carved work.†

Something more than the mere energetical exertion of human faculties left to themselves.—Some *over-ruling* invisible influence,—some guide, and some example,—seems to have been necessary, and to have really operated, in the whole progress of Civilization, and of the increase of arts, and science, from the first forming of the rude huts of wild *Britons*, and of Celtic Tribes, and of the South Sea Islanders, to the most perfect, and most beautiful specimens of Grecian and Roman architecture, and to the most august, and venerable piles of Gothic buildings ;—as well as from the first fabrication of the skin garments, of Caledonians, and Tartars, and of the rude cloths, and feathered ornaments of South Sea Islanders, to the forming of the splendid vestments of Asiatic luxury, and of the magnificent attire of European courts.—And much more does such extraordinary influence appear to have been necessary, to bring the human mind, notwithstanding all its vainly boasted energetic powers, and notwithstanding all their best supposed operations, from the darkness of savage stupidity, and from the

* A more extraordinary circumstance still, corroborating these observations, is, that the Otaheitans when visited by *Captain Wallis*, on the first discovery of that Island, in 1767, though they well knew how, skilfully, to bake, and dress their meat, yet had never discovered, or suspected, that there was such a thing as *boiling*, or as *hot*, and *scalding water*.*

† See Collins's Account of New South Wales, Vol. I. p. 299, 544, 555, 600, Vol. II. p. 168.—And the truth and justice of this mode of reasoning is still more strangely confirmed, by what Colonel Collins further relates, Vol. II. p. 227, 228, that only three or four degrees nearer the equator, inhabitants were found on the very same *terra firma*, who could indeed construct huts even better than the New Zealanders, but who were totally unknown to the inhabitants of Port Jackson.

* See Hawkesworth's Account of Wallis's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 484.

first obscure dawnings of scientific curiosity, and of the anatomical researches of the celebrated *Abderite*,* (who was taken for a mad man, till *Hippocrates* acknowledged his wisdom), to the most enlarged discoveries of natural philosophy, and to the knowledge of Divine Truths.

A curious observation made by *Seneca*, has been pointed out by a learned friend;+—which some persons may possibly, at first sight, think to be inconsistent with the Conclusion that I was compelled to form (in the second Volume of this Work) with regard to the *late* Introduction of *the use of the arch* in architecture;—but surely, what *Seneca* says on the subject, when fully examined, will be found to carry no conviction with it.

The observation of *Seneca* is, in his Epistles;‡—and is precisely in these remarkable words.

“Democritus invenisse dicitur fornicem,—ut lapidum curvatura paulatim inclinorum medio saxo alligaretur.—Hoc dicem falsum esse.—Necesse est enim ante Democritum, et pontes, et portas fuisse, quarum fere summa curvantur.”

Democritus is said to have invented the arch, of such construction that a curvature of stones, inclining by little and little towards each other, should be bound firm by a stone placed in the midst.—But this I should say was false.—Because of necessity before the time of Democritus there

* *Democritus* studying the works of nature, and musing upon them, was deemed mad by the people of *Abdera*; who sent for *Hippocrates* to cure him. —But that wise disciple and descendant of *Æsculapius*, finding *Democritus* dissecting the bodies of animals, in order to understand their nature, and to discover the seat of the bile, pronounced him the wisest man in *Abdera*.—Thus began the science of anatomy, about 400 years before the Christian æra.—*Galen*, about the year 163, improved this science, as it was then thought to the highest pitch.—But it is no less strange than the other circumstances which we have alluded to, that neither of them should either have once suspected, or discovered the circulation of the blood, when they had advanced so far?—or that this curious fact should have remained unknown, till *Harvey*, about the year 1620, first discovered it.

Inoculation;—Vaccination;—why were they not known before?

Perhaps it may be asked, now that *Electricity* and *Galvanism* are known, why do we not yet apprehend the proper use of those conductors, the nerves?—the true nature of muscular motion?—or even the manner in which *spirit* acts upon *matter*?—we have wonderful approximations to the knowledge of these wondrous truths;—but yet we know them not.

The whole narration as to *Democritus*, and the authorities for it, may be seen as adduced by *Stanley*, in his History of Philosophy, p. 456, 457, 458.

+ Joseph Windham, Esq.

‡ Ep. xc.

must have been both bridges, and gates, whereof the tops must have been generally curved.

This passage, in *Seneca's* Letters, is unquestionably exceedingly interesting.—It is however, in the first place, so far from proving the *Arch* to have been of high antiquity, that it even ascertains the fact of a current tradition certainly existing, about fifty or sixty years after the time of *Augustus*, that the *Arch* had not been long known.

And as to its having been the invention of *Democritus*, rather than of *Archimedes*, this is not at all impossible; as *Democritus* was certainly one of the very first mathematicians, and philosophers in Greece;—neither does it make any material difference as to date; since *Democritus* was living only about one hundred and fifty years before *Archimedes*; and was indeed the very person, from whom both *Euclid*, and *Archimedes*, did most probably derive their best rudiments of Science.

And as this passage, in the first place, bears witness to a most certain current report, that the arch was of no high antiquity; so the very reasoning of *Seneca*, to prove the contrary, is still more fallacious than any of his reasonings whatever;—and even furnishes strong arguments against himself:—because we do certainly know, that both bridges, and gates, did exist without arches.

The bridge over the Euphrates, was only covered, as we are assured by *Herodotus*, with loose wooden planks (or rather squared beams)—*ξύλα τετραγώνη*, laid on strong stone piers.*

And one would think *Seneca* must have perused, at some time or other, *Cæsar's* most interesting account given us by his own pen,† of the great bridge constructed by him, of larger extent than any that had before been constructed in the world.

No man of science can be unacquainted with the account of *Cæsar's* celebrated bridge over the Rhine; nor, after considering it, can give any weight to a sophistical argument, in proof of an early existence of arches, from the necessity of their use to form bridges before the time either of *Archimedes*, or *Democritus*.‡

* *Herodotus*, lib. i. 186. p. 87, 88. Wesselingii ed.—and see in the preceding part of this Work, Vol. II. p. 245.

† *Cæsar's* *Comm. de Bello Gallico*, lib. iv. sec. 15.

‡ Even in modern days constant observation tends to afford a refutation of *Seneca's*

The precise words of Herodotus as to the bridge over the Euphrates are, first, that *The Constructor of it*

ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκειας, — Hewed out very long stones;

—and then, τοῦτο δὲ, κατὰ μέσσην καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν, τοῖσι λίθοις τοὺς ὠρύεσθαι, ὁμοδομεῖ γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους διόρησιν τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐκ αὐτῆν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρῃ γένοιτο, εὖλα τετράγωνα, ἐκ ᾧ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο τοὶ Βαβυλωνιοὶ· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ εὖλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεισκον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτούντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων.

This also he did, — about rather the middle part of the city, — with those stones which he had dug out, he built a bridge, binding the stones together with iron, and lead; — and upon it he extended (each day), as soon as it began to dawn, squared beams of timber, on which the Babylonians had a means of passing over. But in the night time these beams were taken

strained argument. — For in China, where the most antient customs are still preserved, (though many modern improvements, as well as that of the arch have unquestionably been introduced,) we read in the description, given by Anderson, of Lord Macartney's Embassy, an account of a bridge, near the antient city of Naung-chin-ou, — that may justly be compared to that of Babylon.

"A wooden bridge of seven arches, or rather, if accuracy of expression should be considered as indispensable, of seven intervals. These intervals are formed by strong stone pillars, built in the water, and overlaid with planks." — Anderson's Narrative, p. 357. — And in Sir George Staunton's Account, we read, Vol. II. p. 449, of bridges constructed in China, "where, instead of turning arches, upright columns were erected, and connected by stones from a quarry, some of which were thirty feet in length."

*Indeed in an interesting account of China, by Mr. Barrow; he intimates, in p. 339, that the arch may possibly have been in use amongst the Chinese, before it was known to the Greeks or Romans; — because of its appearance in some towers of the Great Wall; and because of its being found adopted in several of the Bridges of the antient Great Canal. — But, besides referring those who wish candidly to investigate this subject, to what I have already remarked, concerning the Chinese arches in p. 274 of the second Volume of the *Munimenta*, (and even concerning the probability of their being more recent constructions than the wall, from Captain Parish's own most particular account,) I cannot but add, that Mr. Barrow himself observes, p. 335, "with regard to the Great Canal, that at present it exhibits no appearances of great antiquity: and that the bridges, the stone piers of the flood-gates, the quays, and the retaining walls of the earthen embankments are comparatively new." — The very remarkable specimen also, which he has given us of an arch of a bridge, p. 338, with all the exact measures of every part, seems rather to evince that it was only a sort of imitation, without their understanding even yet, the true principle of the arch, or the proper nature of a key stone: — and it ought not to be forgotten that he acknowledges, p. 338, the plan on which several others are constructed, does not imply much strength; notwithstanding his mentioning, p. 339, that he understood from Captain Parish, that all the arched and vaulted work in the old towers of the great wall, was exceedingly well turned. Surely therefore we cannot but conclude even those arches to have been much more recent in their construction, than any original part of the wall.*

away; and on this account, that persons wandering over in the night, might not steal from those on the opposite sides.

And whilst neither the bridge over the Euphrates, nor the bridge of Cæsar over the Rhine needed any arch;—so as to the bridge, or passage under the Euphrates, we know (from the authority of *Diodorus*,) that it had *no arch*;* but was covered over only by means of the side stone walls being made to approach nearer and nearer together, by the projection of each side row of stones a little more and more towards each other than that next beneath, as they were carried up, till they nearly met at the top, and were then covered in, by great flat flag stones laid across upon them.

The *supposed arches* of the *Hanging Gardens* at Babylon were constructed in a similar manner; and were in reality *no arches at all*.†

And the same excellent, and invaluable historian assures us, that the celebrated gates of Babylon, had *brazen lintels*,‡ *at top*, (which could not have been the case had there been any arch)—and indeed he never once mentions *an Arch* throughout all his work.

We are assured also, from the account given by *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, that the *Pons Sublicius* was the *only* bridge at Rome, in the year Urb. Con. 249, that is 505 years ante Chr.;—and that it was constructed *only of timber*; and repaired, and preserved simply in that state, till the time of that author himself, who went to Rome just after the battle of Actium, and lived there twenty-two years, in the reign of Augustus.

His words are, describing the bravery of *Horatius Cocles*, who singly stood to defend *that* bridge against the troops of *Porsena*; that he desired *Herminius* to entreat the Consuls—ἀποκόπτειν τὴν γέφυραν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τάχει—to cut off the bridge from the city with all the expedition possible.§—And then *Dionysius* adds, by way of description,

* *Diodorus*, lib. ii. 69. p. 122. Ed. Wesselingii; and see the account in the preceding part of this Work, Volume II. p. 246.

† See *Diodorus*, lib. ii. 70, p. 124. Edit. Wesselingii; and in the foregoing Vol. II. p. 250.

‡ *Herodotus*, lib. i. 179, 180, p. 84, 85. Ed. Wesselingii, referred to already in this Work, Vol. II. p. 245.

§ See *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, lib. v. sec. 24, where his further description, in the original Greek, of the manner in which *Horatius* fought; and of the manner in which he was encumbered by the props, or piers of the bridge, when at last he flung himself into the river, after the greater part was pulled down, plainly shews the nature of that bridge.

Ἦν δὲ μία κατ' ἐκατοντὸν χρόνον ἐνλόφρακτος, ἀνευ σιδήρου δεδεμένη ταῖς
σανίσιν αὐταῖς, ἣν καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ τοιαύτην φυλάττουσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

*For there was in those days one made of wood, fastened without iron
to its props (or piers); and it was even to my own time that the Romans
preserved it just such as it then was.*

Even the testimony of Livy alone, would have been nearly
sufficient to convince us, that bridges *did exist without arches*:—
and that the adding arches to them, was an improvement of far
later ages than their construction.—For he says, * describing the
events of the year U. C. 573, or 179 ante Christum.

“ Marcus Fulvius plura, et majoris locavit usus. Portum, et Pilas
“ Pontis in Tiberim; quibus Pilis Fornices post aliquot annos
“ P. Scipio Africanus, et L. Mummius Censores locaverunt im-
“ ponendos.”

*Marcus Fulvius expended money for still more things, and of still
greater use;—a Port,—and Piers of a Bridge for the Tiber; on
which Piers, after some years, P. Scipio Africanus, + and Lucius
Mummius, when Censors, caused at a considerable expence arches to be
placed.*

Even with regard to the stupendous *Common Sewers* of Rome, the
Veteres Cloacæ, first constructed by *Tarquin*, we have full assurance
from *Dionysius Halicarnassus*,—*Diodorus*,—*Strabo*,—and *Pliny*,
that *the arches were added, merely in the time Augustus*;—and have the
utmost reason to conclude, † that before the *Augustan age*, they were,

* Lib. xl. sec. 51.

+ This must have been the younger *Scipio Africanus*; and it must have been about
forty years after the piers were built;—for *Carthage* was destroyed A. U. 607. A. C.
145: and the same year *L. Mummius* took and destroyed *Corinth*.

† See *Dionys. Halic. lib. iii. sec. 67. p. 200*;—*Strabo, lib. v. 235. p. 360*;—*Plinii Nat.
Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 24.*

These passages have all been referred to in the preceding part of this Work, Vol. II.
p. 269. But it may be useful, *now* to give them more at large, with precise translations,
in words the closest possible to the original words of the authors.

Dionysius Halicarnassus, describing even the very first construction of the *Sewers* by
Tarquin, says (lib. iii. sec. 67. p. 191. Oxford Ed.)

Ἡξεατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπονόμους ἐρύττειν, τάφρους δ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ὀχέυεται πᾶν τὸ συρρέον ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν
ὑδάτος.

*He began also to dig out the Sewers;—ditches, (or excavations) by which all the water flowing
from the ways (or streets) might be compelled to flow into the Tiber.*

Strabo, who lived about the time of *Augustus*, describing the great works which *Agrippa*,

in some parts, mere excavations of rock,—like the long excavation at Pausilypum (now Pausilype);—in other parts mere trenches, covered with timber;—and in other parts (where they were built with stone) were only covered, in the same manner as the works

added to adorn Rome; and distinguishing the works of the Romans from those of the Greeks, (in that they attended to such useful things as were neglected by the Greeks,—the making of public roads,—the building of aqueducts,—and the preparing of common sewers for conveying the filth of the city into the Tiber),—describes what was done with respect to the Sewers, in these words. Strabo, lib. v. 235. p. 360; Casaubon's Ed. et vide in Notis, lib. xvii. 818. p. 1172. Amsterdam Ed.

Οἱ δὲ ὑπόνομοι, σὺν νόμῳ (συνόμῳ) λίθῳ κατακαμφθέντες ὁδοὺς ἀμάξαις χόρτου πορευτὰς, ἐνίας ἀπολελοίπασιν τοσούτων δὲ ἴσσι τὸ ἐξαγωγέμενον ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων, ὥστε ποταμοὺς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμων ρεῖν, ἀπασαν δὲ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν διζαμινὰς καὶ σίφωνας, καὶ κρουνοὺς ἔχειν ἀφθόνας, ὧν πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησεν Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας.

And as to the Sewers; covering them over arch-wise, with stone squared (and well fitted) they left ways (therein) some of them sufficient for the passing of carriages laden with hay.—And so great is the quantity of water conveyed by means of the aqueducts, that rivers flow through the city, and sewers; and almost every house has cisterns, pipes, and copious running fountains.—In these things the chief care was bestowed by Marcus Agrippa.

In this passage, the very word *κατακαμφθέντες*, which Strabo uses, is even itself a proof of the want of an adequate word in the Greek language to express the *forming of an arch*.—For it merely awkwardly signifies covering over in a curved bending manner, and might indeed almost be applied to the old method of covering over subterraneous passages, by walls on each side inclining inwards, and at last covered by a flat stone.—But we do indeed know, from other authority, that *Agrippa did certainly cover over the Sewers with great arches*; and this passage, from Strabo, is almost alone a proof, that they were not so covered before; as well as that previous to the time of Agrippa they had no such vast current of water to cleanse them.

The words of Pliny (lib. xxxvi. c. 24. sec. 2 and 3.) also, at the very same time that he speaks of *Agrippa's* having completed the mighty work of the Sewers, evidently intimate, that the greater part of the work of *Tarquin* was mere absolute cutting, and breaking through rocks; and the rest vast trenching; which latter was not covered over at all till the time of *Agrippa*, or (if any where covered over) only in such manner, as the more antient works that have been described, and which had no arches whatever.

"Præterea cloacas: operum omnium dictu maximum, suffossis montibus, atque (ut paulo ante retulimus) urbe pensili, subterque navigata.

"A M. Agrippa, in Ædilitate post Consulatum, per meatus corrivati septem amnes, cursuque præcipiti torrentium modo rapere atque auferre omnia coacti, insuper mole imbrium concitati, vada ac latera quatiant: aliquando Tiberis retro infusi recipiunt fluctus, pugnantque diversi aquarum impetus intus; et tamen obnixa firmitas resistit. Trahuntur moles internæ tantæ, non succumbentibus causis operis: pulsant ruinæ sponte præcipientes, aut impactæ incendiis: quatitur solum terra motibus: durant tamen a Tarquino Prisco annis DCCC. prope inexpugnabiles:" &c. &c.

Besides these, were the (common) Sewers; of all works worthy to be spoken of as the greatest,—mountains being dug through, and (as we have before related) a city being rendered hanging above, and navigated beneath.

of the earliest ages, at Babylon, and elsewhere, by means of the side walls being made to approach nearer together, in consequence

By M. Agrippa, in his *Ædileship*, after his *Consulship*, seven rivers running together through guiding passages, and compelled by a precipitous course of descent to wash and carry off all things in their way, increased moreover by the swell of showers, shake and tear the bottom and the sides: sometimes also they receive the waves of the Tiber driven in backwards; and different violent streams of water contend with and oppose each other within, but yet the firmness opposed within resists all.—Fast internal masses of filth are dragged along, yet the means whereby the work was formed are not found failing:—ruins falling of themselves, or driven (into the sewers) by fire, beat their way: the ground is shaken by earthquakes, yet (these sewers) continue unhurt, formed by Tarquinius near 800 years ago.

Thus says Pliny, living in the days of Trajan, about the year 100 A. D.

And he adds:

"Amplitudinem cavis eam fecisse proditur; ut vehem seni large onustam transmitteret."

The greatness of these Caves is declared to have been such, as to permit the passage of a carriage largely laden with hay.

Surely he could scarcely have chosen words more exactly adapted, to convey to us his idea of the greatest part of the sewers being merely the hollowing, or cutting out of caves, through rock, like the grotto of *Pausilype*, than all the words he has used; avoiding as we cannot but observe, any mention of artificial walls, or of arches, and principally using the words "*suffossis montibus*," mountains (or hills) being cut or dug through,—and the word "*cavis*," which as evidently means mere excavated caves.

Even the very account which Pliny subjoins, of the aversion which the Romans had to the intolerable labour of the undertaking, evidently shews it to have been that of mining, and hewing their way through rocks; and not that of building arches.

"Cum id opus Tarquinius Priscus plebis manibus faceret, essetque labor incertum longior an periculosior, passim conscita nece, Quiritibus tædium fugientibus, novum et inexcogitatum antea posteaque remedium invenit ille rex, ut omnium ita defunctorum figeret crucibus corpora spectanda civibus, simul et feris volucrisque laceranda. Quamobrem pudor Rom. nominis proprius, qui sæpe res perditas servavit in præliis, tunc quoque subvenit: sed illo tempore imposuit, jam erubescens, cum puderet vivos, tanquam puditurum esset extinctos."

Whilst Tarquinius Priscus was performing that work by the hands of the people, and it was uncertain whether the excessive danger, or the length of the labour would be greatest; and when here and there Romans were found avoiding the dreadful toil by voluntary death; that King found a new remedy unthought of in either preceding or after times; which was to fix the bodies of all who had so died upon crosses, as spectacles to the citizens, and at the same time to be torn by wild beasts, and birds.—By which means the proper revering of the Roman name, that so often has saved lost affairs in battles, came in aid: whilst moreover at that time, he imposed the effect, of now (as it were) blushing for them, as shaming only the dead, when in reality he shamed the living.

The subterraneous passage of *Pausilype*, a Cave of more than half an Italian mile in length, cut quite through the mountain, in which Cave, *Keysler* informs us (Vol. III. p. 112) the marks of chizels, and other tools used by stone cutters, still remain in the rock, might just as well be brought in evidence, to prove the existence of an artificial Arch in architecture, as any part of the Sewers at Rome, that existed covered with an arched roof before the time of Agrippa.

of each row of stones projecting a little more inward, as they were carried up higher; till at last they met so near, as to be covered with flat stones.—And almost every word in all the passages alluded to, confirm this idea.*

And here again also, even the testimony of *Livy* alone, concerning the original construction of the Sewers of Rome, might have been sufficient to convince us of these facts;—for he not only never once mentions an *Arch*, in speaking of the first forming of those Sewers;—but even describes the work as being actually partly mere *trenching* in low ground,—and partly laborious *excavation* of rock.

“Infima urbis loca circa forum, aliasque interjectas collibus
“convalles, quia ex *planis locis* haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis
“*e fastigio* in Tiberim ductis siccant.”†

The low places of the city about the forum, and other vallies situated between its hills, because from mere plain level spots the waters were not easily carried off, he drained by means of sewers (or cuts) from the higher part conducted to the Tiber.

“Cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum oppidis, sub terram agendam.”‡

Causing the great sewer, the receptacle of all the filth of the town, to be driven through, under the ground.

Many years afterwards it appears, that certain parts of these were even for the first time covered, and *built over*, when the city was restored, and rebuilt by *Camillus*, after its destruction by the Gauls;—for *Livy* adds, §

“Ea est causa, ut veteres cloacæ, primo per publicum ductæ,
“nunc privata passim subeant tecta.”

This is the cause, that the antient Sewers, first carried along the public highway, now pass under private houses.

The remains of the Temple of Janus, in *Foro Boario* at Rome, have been thought, by some persons, a proof of the early existence of the arch before the *Augustan age*.

But it has been in a very accurate manner remarked by *Overbeke*, who has given us a very fine representation of these Remains,

* See the former account in this Work. Vol. II. p. 269.

† *Livy*, lib. i. sec. 38.

‡ *Ibid.* lib. i. sec. 55.

§ *Lib.* v. sec. 55.

that there were many Temples of *Janus* at Rome.*—That there is no certainty of this, in Foro Boario, having been at all the most antient one, or *that* which was built by *Numa*;—and that many have doubted whether this ever was properly what could be called a Temple;—and that, according to Tacitus,† *Tiberius* dedicated a Temple to *Janus*, which had formerly been built by C. Duilius, who himself lived, and triumphed only about the time of *Archimedes*.

And in consequence of these remarks we have reason to believe, Temples of *Janus* were *re-edified* in Rome, in more instances than one; and that this very Temple, even in its very earliest period, might at most have been built only about the time of *Archimedes*;—whilst indeed its architecture so much resembles the architecture of the age of *Tiberius* in general, that the *probability* seems to be, this structure was, in reality, nearly of that age or at least that its ornamental arches were so;—and the *certainty*, that it proves nothing decidedly, as to the precise time in which *the Arch* was first invented.

With regard to other numerous arches, in *Rome*;—the several proofs as to their dates, shewing them to have been at least as recent, or even more recent than the *Augustan age*, which have been mentioned in a former Volume,‡ need not to be repeated here.

Neither therefore the prejudices of *Seneca*,—nor his hasty observation, opposing the *tradition*, concerning the *recent invention* of the arch, which was still current in his days;—nor the prejudices of any other persons, concerning the supposed *necessity* of there having been originally arches in the antient Sewers of *Tarquin*,—can be to a candid mind any satisfactory ground for opposing such strong facts, as the non-appearance of *the Arch*, in any Great

* Overbeke's Reliquiæ Antiquæ Urbis Romæ, Vol. I. p. 51.

† Et Jano Templum Tiberius dedicavit, quod apud Forum Olitorium C. Duilius struxerat.—Qui primus Rem Romanam prospere mari gessit, triumphumque navalem de Pœnis meruit. Lib. Ann. c. 49, sec. 3.

Tiberius also dedicated a Temple to Janus, which had been built in the herb market by C. Duilius, who was the first that caused the Roman Republic to be successful at sea, and obtained a naval triumph over the Carthaginians.

‡ Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 271, 272.

City on earth, in early days ;—and as the utter silence of all antient writers concerning *the Arch* ;—and as the utter want even of *any word of discrimination*, in any language, to denote precisely *an Arch*, in architecture, till near the days of *Augustus Caesar*.*

* Whilst these sheets were printing, I received from its learned Author a very curious and ingenious little Tract, entitled, *Recherches sur le Tems le plus Reculé de l'Usage des Voûtes chez les Anciens*.—Par M. L. D—s ;—in which, with much erudition, great pains is taken to shew, that—*des voûtes*,—*vaulted structures*,—were of the highest antiquity ; and existed in the very earliest ages, long before the time of *Augustus*.

A very great number of instances are to this purpose alledged, in this Tract, of what is said by very antient authors concerning structures in the most antient cities ;—and also of what has been observed by modern travellers, amongst the ruins of such cities.

As I have openly professed, on a former occasion,† so I do now,—that I do not wish to impose my own opinions on any person whatever ;—but desire to leave every one to judge intirely for himself.—With the utmost respect, however, for the great learning of the Author of this Tract, I cannot but remain unconvinced by his arguments ; and still fully persuaded that *The Arch*, properly so called, has never yet been ascertained to have existed, in any one instance, *previous* to the age of *Archimedes*, or at least of *Democritus*, which was not any long period before the days of *Augustus*.

For, in the first place, the learned author of this Tract, considers *des voûtes*,—all *vaulted structures*,—as necessarily implying the existence of *an arch* ;—whereas the great gallery, in the great pyramid of Egypt, is certainly a *vaulted structure* ; though we are assured, from the nicest investigation of it, by *Greaves*, *Norden* and *Pococke*, that there is nothing like *an arch* in it ; and that the principles upon which *its vault* is constructed, and supported, are far different from those by which the arch is supported :—and in like manner the *Hanging Gardens* at Babylon were certainly supported by *vaulted structures* underneath ;—and the bridge under the Euphrates, at Babylon, was certainly a *vaulted structure* ;—though both with regard to the one‡, and the other, we have such particular accounts of *the very mode* of constructing them, as evidently shew that there was nothing like a *real arch*, properly so called, in any of those structure.

In like manner, in other instances that he cites of *vaulted structures*,—such as the *Labyrinth*§ in Egypt, and the *vaults* under Egyptian temples,—we know (from the exact accounts of the most accredited authors, *Pococke*, and others,) that they had no real arches, but were either formed like, the *vaulting* of the great gallery in the first pyramid ; or else merely covered with vast *flat stones*, from one upright wall to another.—In short, every subterraneous passage, under any building, has generally been called by travellers a sort of *vault* ;—but was not, because of using that *term*, necessarily meant to signify an *arched structure*.

As to the great instance of all that he insists upon,—the *Cloaca Maxima*, at Rome,

† See before in Vol. III. p. 58.

‡ See the full account, as to the *Hanging Gardens*, from the express words of *Diodorus*, in the former part of this work, Vol. II. p. 250.

§ See before in this work, as to the *Labyrinth* particularly ; Vol. II. p. 239, 240, 241.

We may boldly repeat therefore, whilst we maintain *the recentness of the Invention of the Arch*, that it may indeed have been hardly

constructed in the time of *Tarquin*;—the real nature of its construction I have endeavoured fully to investigate, in the preceding pages;* and therefore need only to add here, that if any part thereof was at all arched *before*, it is very strange that Agrippa's covering of this whole great sewer *with arches*, in the time of Augustus, should *then* be deemed so surprising a work, by those who lived in that age.

In the next place,—in this learned author's citations, (p. 14.) concerning arches, found by travellers, amongst the ruins of very antient cities, in Sicily, and elsewhere; he leaves it to be taken for granted, that those *arches*, as well as the great arched Gate-way at *Pastum*, were in general as antient as the foundation, or early periods of existence of those cities;—whereas we know, that in almost all the cities of the Roman Empire, the most Magnificent Buildings, and especially those *with arches*, were constructed in the time of *Adrian*, and successively afterwards by other Roman Emperors; all which Buildings may now be easily confounded without distinction with the more antient ruins.—A person might just as well conclude, because London certainly existed in the time of *Constantine*, that therefore *Westminster Abbey*, and the pointed Arch, were as old as the time of *Constantine*.—*Adrian's* whole reign was employed, in travelling through all the Empire, to adorn it with noble structures.

The learned Author mentions the *Lantern of Demosthenes*, at *Athens*, as being for his purpose;—when yet it appears, even by the inscription upon it, to have been constructed in the second year of the cxi Olympiad, 335 A. C. that is *after* the time of *Democritus*, and in itself is not five feet in diameter within; and being entirely covered by a single stone, can hardly be said to have any arch at all.†

As to the arched Sepulchre of the *Scipios*, on which M. L. D—s lays so great stress, because it contained the remains of *Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus*;—this great Roman lived about the 450th year of Rome, and for some time after; that is about the year A. C. 300, and therefore was living within a very few years prior to the time of *Archimedes*; and lived long after *Democritus*; and consequently, if according to the tradition mentioned by *Seneca*, the arch was invented by *Democritus*, this arched Sepulchre might very well have been constructed, notwithstanding its containing the remains of *Scipio Barbatus*, consistently with all that has been said concerning the recent invention of the arch.—But in truth we know that *Scipio Africanus*, the illustrious descendant of *Scipio Barbatus*, was celebrated for the many arches which he seems eagerly to have reared, as instances of a sort of singular kind of magnificence, and grandeur, and of novel invention;—and it is most likely that this very Sepulchre, or Mausoleum, was reared by him.—And the learned author of the Tract in question, so well acquainted with so many great families in Europe, cannot but recollect, that it is not an unusual thing, to have the remains of the distinguished ancestors of a great family removed into a more stately place of interment.—The view of this sepulchre, as given by *Piranesi*, Vol. II. Pl. XXVIII. in its whole style of architecture may very well lead us to this conclusion;—and especially considering its great similarity to the Sepulchre of the family of *Metellus*, represented by *Piranesi*, Vol. III. Pl. XV.—For *Lucius Cacilius Metellus*, the most distinguished of

* Page 9, 10, 11, just preceding in this Volume.—And p. 269 in Vol. II.

† See *Les Ruines de la Grece*, par M. Le Roy, p. 24, 25. Pl. xiii.

possible, that the Arch should not have been invented before the days of *Archimedes*, or of *Democritus*:—but that it is not at all more

the family, lived just about the time of *Archimedes*, and of *Scipio Africanus*. And the first distinguished person of this family, was made Consul only about the year 285 A. C. that is *after* the age of *Democritus*.

The arch which M. L. D—s refers to, (p. 16), as mentioned by *Cicero*, in *Verrem*, erected to the honour of *Fabius* the Censor, for his victory over the *Allobroges*, about 350 A. C. must have been reared at least *after* that event;—and therefore long after *Democritus*, and just about the age of *Archimedes*.

And as to the arches which M. L. D—s refers to (p. 17) as being mentioned by *Livy*,—they were all, we find, according to that accurate historian, of the years U. C. 561, 562, 566, that is, about the years 196, 191, 190 A. C.

Whilst the aquaduct at Carthage, so celebrated by travellers, and even any arches at Carthage itself, might very well have been constructed *after* the time of *Archimedes*; since Carthage was not destroyed till the year 145 A. C. i. e. almost an hundred years after the time in which *Archimedes* may be supposed to have made his discoveries.—And as to the stables, in the walls of Carthage, for elephants, mentioned by *Appian*, they also might be of the same date;—though to say the truth, the words of *Appian*, cited by M. L. D—s, (p. 15,) do not absolutely require us to believe that they were at all *arched*;—for the words are only,—*Ἐν αὐτῷ (τείχεσιν) καὶ τὰ ἐντρί, καὶ σιγανῶ, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐστὰς μὲν ἐλεφαντῶν τριανταίον.*—*In the wall, it being hollow, and covered at the top, beneath stood three hundred elephants.*

M. L. D—s mentions the aquaduct of *Ancus Marcius*, begun about the year 650 A. C. as composed of a great number of arches; and cites the words of *Pliny*, Lib. xxxi. Ca. xxiv. (*Aqua Marcia in Tiburtina se aperit novem millibus pass. fornicibus structis perducta.*—*Primus eam auspicatus est ducere Ancus Marcius, unus ex regibus,*) in order to prove that those arches were at least begun by *Ancus Marcius*, 650 years before the Christian æra.—But when we come carefully to consider the *whole* passage, as written by *Pliny*, we may perceive that the words of that author in reality do not afford any just room for such a conclusion.—For *Pliny* adds immediately,—*Postea Q. Marcius Rex in Prætura. Rursusque restituit M. Agrippa.*—And the whole may be translated, *The Marcian stream throws itself into the stream of the Tibur, after being conveyed nine miles upon constructed arches.*—*The first who enterprized the bringing of it, was Ancus Marcius, one of the Kings. Afterwards Q. Marcius Rex in his Prætorship, and then again M. Agrippa restored the aquaduct.* So that we are in fact led to conclude, that whatever arches of this aquaduct remain, were built either by *Q. Marcius Rex*, about 633 U. C. i. e. 120 A. C.—or by *Agrippa* in the time of *Augustus*;—and that the words, concerning *Ancus Marcius*, only describe him as being *the first who brought the Marcian stream to Rome*; which was probably merely by means of an aquaduct consisting of wooden troughs, supported by stone piers, or pillars; just in the same manner as the timbers of the most antient bridges were supported.—And this appears still more strongly, from the words of *Dion*, Lib. 49, p. 416, who expressly tells us, that—*Agrippa repaired the whole in the year of Rome 728,*—i. e. about 34 years before the Christian Æra.

M. L. D—s (p. 4) mentions the tombs of *Atræus*, and *Agamemnon*, as being proofs of *arched structures*,—as being *très-élevés en voûte conique, ou en forme de bonnet.*—It does not well appear whether he meant to describe their outsides, or their insides;—but whichever he might intend to refer to, it is obvious that whatever is elevated *en voûte conique*,—as a

surprising than many other facts now certainly and positively well known in the world.—And if the Arch be really of so

conical vault, is not an arch, but is constructed upon quite different principles;—and indeed we well know, from the concurrent testimony of travellers, that these tombs were merely great *Barrows*.

He mentions also (p. 14) an *Odeum*, *avec sa coupole*, as being a *dome*.—This was in all probability built in imitation of that at Athens;—and we know, from Plutarch, that therein was no arch.—Plutarch says,

Τῇ δὲ ἱέρει παρὰ κλίνας καὶ κἀγὰντες, ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῇ πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσιν γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλῆος σκηνῆς. Plutarch, Pericles, p. 67.

But in the covering, being made sloping, and steep down from one point, they say it was the express form and imitation of the tent of the King.

He might possibly mean—of the tent of Xerxes;—but if he meant, as some imagine,—of the tent of Achilles, described by Homer,—it is a still further confirmation, that here was no arched dome.—For Homer says, in words more accurately followed by Pope than usual,

Of fir the roof was rais'd, and covered o'er

With reeds collected from the marshy shore.

Pope's Iliad, Book XXIV. l. 553.

Δῶρ ἑλάτης κέρσαντες· ἀτὰρ καθύπερθεν ἔρψαν

Λαγχνῆν' ἔρορον, λειμυνόμεν ἀμύκητας.

Iliad, Lib. XXIV. l. 450.

M. Le Roy has given us, p. 22, Pl. XII. a description, and view of its ruins,—which consist merely of some of the lower part of the structure,—and in which there is not the least appearance of an arch.

Several of the *domes* mentioned by M. L. D—s were unquestionably formed merely with such *conical roofs*,—either formed of timber, or of circular rows of stones, laid each row a little more inward than that next beneath.

And as to the numerous remains in Sicily, at Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Catanea, &c. which M. L. D—s speaks of (p. 14), from the authority of the Prince Biscari, and of M. L'Abbé Campbell; it does not at all appear that there is any the least reason for believing any one of those structures that are with arches, to have been *prior* to the time of Archimedes, who was himself of that very Country.—A thousand other remains might be reckoned up, just in the same manner, which would not tend to prove any thing at all concerning the date of the invention of the arch.

As to what Pausanias says, concerning the treasury of Minyas, supposed to have been built about 1350 years A. C.—It is to be observed, that Pausanias himself was only a traveller, viewing the remains of the fabric, 1500 years afterwards; and that therefore the structure in question might have been *rebuilt* many ages after the time of Minyas:—besides which, notwithstanding the French translations of L'Abbé Gedoyn, and M. Goguet, cited by M. L. D—s (p. 4), the original Greek words do not at all necessarily imply the covering to have been an *arched dome*;—but rather lead us to conceive it to have been *conical*;—that is, consistently with what has just been said, of the form of a truncated cone, produced by each tier of stones being laid a little more inward,

late a date.—This Fact is then only *one* amongst innumerable other proofs, that the progressive advancement of Arts, and of

towards the centre, than that next beneath, till the aperture at the top became at last so diminished, as to be covered by one single stone.—The words are,

Pausanias, Lib. ix. cap. 38.—Σχῆμα περιφέρεις ἴσθιν αὐτοῦ, κορυφὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἄγαν ἐξῆ ἀντήκεται, τὴν δὲ ἀνωτάτην τῶν λίθων φάσιν ἀρμονίαν πάντῃ ἵναί τῷ οικοδομήματι.

The plan is a round, and the top not carried up to a very sharp point, but they say that the uppermost of the stones is a binding to the whole building.

With regard to the Holy Temple at Jerusalem;—to supposed arches of which, on the authority of lexicographers, Mr. L. D—s refers, (p. 8);—the very precise account which we have of the whole mode of its construction, in Holy Scripture;—and the full account given by Josephus;—and several concurrent circumstances of its history, which I have mentioned in a former volume,*—may all serve to convince us, that neither in the first Temple, built by Solomon, nor in the second, which was destroyed by Titus, was there any arch, except such as might possibly be in a gateway built by Herod.

Perhaps the strongest arguments adduced by M. L. D—s, to prove the Arch to have been of very high antiquity, may be deemed the words used by Plato (*de Legibus*, lib. xii.);—and the simile made use of by Aristotle, *de Mundo*, (both cited by him p. 11).—But it should be remembered that both Plato, and Aristotle, lived *after* the days of Democritus;—and even if they had lived *prior* to his time,—as to the words of Plato, describing the imaginary monument of grandeur, or rather sepulchre, Θήκη, that should be formed for a great man; they are, when literally translated, much more applicable to a long vaulted, or coved gallery, like the great one in the first pyramid of Memphis, in which is *no arching* at all;† than to a vaulted gallery, or room, formed by real arches, or with a really arched covering.—For they are,

Lib. xii. p. 947, Ed. Serrani.—Θήκη ἵναί αἰψὶδα προμήκη λίθων προτίμων καὶ ἀγέμων.—That the sepulchre should be a long extended covered (or coved) room, of stones of great value, and incorruptible, (or of unperishable hardness).

And as to the simile used by Aristotle;—it will hold good, with regard to the great covering stones, of such a coved structure as the great gallery in the first pyramid,—or with regard to those great covering stones, which finished the upper part of the coverings, and vaultings, that supported the Hanging Gardens at Babylon;* just as well as with regard to the key-stones of arches; and perhaps even with more dignity, as to the simile.

The words are τοῖς ομφαλοῖς λεγόμενοις, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ψαλίσι λίθοις, οἳ μέσοι κείμενοι, κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον μέρος ἔδωσαν ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ τηρεῖν, καὶ ἐν τάξει τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα τῆς ψαλίδος καὶ ἀκίνητον.

And may be translated literally like unto those stones, in coved structures, called mid-stones, which lying in the middle parts, preserve the whole design of the coving in harmony, in order, and in insuperable strength, from the yielding and giving way of the parts on either side.

M. L. D—s remarks, (p. 11) that αἰψίς, and ψαλίς, amongst the Greeks equally signified an arch, or a vault: and that θόλος signified a vault, cupola, or dome, and must of course imply an arch.—And such unquestionably was the usage of those words, for want of better, in the latter ages, after the arch was invented:—after which time, however, (if it was invented by Democritus,) both Plato, and Aristotle lived, who used this word in the instances referred

* Munimenta Antiq. Vol. II. p. 223, 225, 228.

† Ib. Vol. II. p. 235.

Civilization, and of all great Improvements upon the face of the earth, depends entirely upon *external causes*,—and not upon the so much boasted powers of the human mind;—and alone flows, either from *communications, made by one people to another*, at due seasons, according to the permission, and direction of a Divine over-ruling Providence; *—or else is a *blessed original gift, from on high*, at different times, from age to age, bestowed by Divine Inspiration, on *other* minds, as well as on that of *Bezaleel*†.

We ought then, surely, never to be ashamed of the strong avowal of this truth.—Permitting it therefore to have all its due weight, upon our minds, let us now endeavour to trace, in the following pages, through a full detail of the history, *even of the Progress of Architecture*, how *very strangely* improvements, and the lets and hindrances of improvements, for defence, —convenience, —comfort, —splendour, —magnificence; —and for the rendering of most due Divine Honour to the Great Creator and Lord of all,—have come forth, upon the face of the earth:—whilst even the very lets, and hindrances have been converted into means of rendering the subsequent progress more energetical:—continually manifesting, that Infinite Wisdom maketh the weakest, and the most unlikely instruments, means

to.—But whoever will take the trouble of looking into H. Stephens's Thesaurus (the best authority for the genuine meaning of any words in the Greek language,) will find, that *ψάλλε* would just as well, or even better describe even the *pointed pediment* of a building;—and therefore more readily such a vaulting as that of the great gallery in the great pyramid, rather than a real arch;—that the etymology of *ἀψίς*, is merely *from the parts of a covering being so placed, as at last to join together*, and by that means to support all above;—which therefore equally refers to the same sort of vaulting.—And that *θόλος*, or *θολοειδής*, properly signifies merely a *round chamber*; or what is of a round form; without any respect to the form of the *roof, or covering*;—and when applied to a roof, or covering, signifies just as well, or even rather better, one that ends in a *sharp conical point*:—and cannot be ascertained to mean properly an *arched dome*, except when used by the *Greek writers* of the Augustan age, for want of other words to describe the structures of nearly their own age.

Even one of the largest of the domes of the Church of the Sepulchre, built by *Helena*, the mother of Constantine, at Jerusalem, is merely, both within, and without, still in the

* Strong proofs of this have already been referred to, in the preceding pages of this work, Vol. II. p. 250.

† Exodus, Chap. xxxi. ver. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

of good;—at the same time that it confoundeth the proud thoughts of the arrogant, and presumptuous;—and bringeth to nought all

form of a *truncated cone*, leaving an aperture for light at the top.—So that even the very word *dome* itself does not necessarily imply an *arch*.

M. L. D—s says, in the beginning of his little Tract, that he had been assured, the assertion, of the *antients not having known the art of rearing vaulted buildings before the age of Augustus*, was to be found in *Voltaire's* writings:—but that he had never seen it.

It is to be wished that M. L. D—s could have informed us, when, or in what *part* of his writings, that author ever started any such idea;—both in order that we might know *how* he came to adopt it; and what arguments he made use of to support it:—for *Voltaire* does not appear to have been a sufficient lover of truth, or such a patient investigator of truth, as to have come of himself at any such fact.

There remains only one plain question to be asked.—If so noble an ornament, as the *Arch*, had been known in the very early ages, is it not incredible that it should never have been introduced in the most magnificent of the *antient Buildings*, in Egypt, or in Babylon, or in Persepolis, or at Pæstum, or at Athens?—M. L. D—s says, (p. 18),—*il faut se contenter de dire, que ce n'étoit pas leur goût*,—that is, in plain English, *that it was not the fashion to use the arch*.—And if he is himself satisfied with *that* answer,—it must be needless to urge any further considerations on the subject.

It is almost superfluous therefore to add, that the arch at the mouth of the Drain of the *Alban Lake*, has been mentioned, as having been *most antient*;—as if those words imported that it had existed *prior* to the date which has been assigned in these sheets, to the *Invention of the Arch*, and was of the same age with the arduous effort of draining the Lake, in consequence of the Prodigy, and Oracular warning, in the year U. C. 358, or 394, A. C.—But a very little attention, and careful examination, will entirely obviate any objections arising from its appearance.—The great Drain itself is merely a passage, about a yard wide, and four yards high at the mouth, *cut through a solid rock*, for a great length, requiring no support from masonry; and cut just in the same manner, and certainly with greater facility than the cavern cut through the mountain at *Pausilype*;—and indeed just in the very manner in which *Camillus* might cut his mines under ground, at the siege of *Veii*. The arch of masonry, which now appears over the entrance, is built high above the opening, and forms part of an obviously *subsequent facing of stone-work*, placed before the surface of the rock; and does not appear to be hardly so antient as the time of Augustus.—A representation of it may be seen in *Wright's Travels*, (p. 371. Pl. xxvi.), with adjoining reservoirs of stone-work, for fish;—such as cannot be conceived, any more than the great arch, to have been constructed in the time of *Camillus*; according to any part of the accounts given, by *Plutarch*, (in his *Life of Camillus*); and by *Livy* (lib. v. sec. 15, 16, &c.);—nor do the words of *Cicero*, whilst he expresses his admiration of the work, imply any thing more than an astonishment at the labour of *cutting a way under ground for the flowing of the stream*.—When he says, *Ex quo illa admirabilis a majoribus Albana aqua facta deductio est*. (*De Divinatione*, lib. i. sec. 44.)—And again, (lib. ii. sec. 32.) *Ita aqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbani*,—there is not the least intimation of *any arch*; (which he surely would have mentioned had there been one) but our attention is solely drawn, to the driving of the passage through the mountain.

the daring efforts of the vain,—boastful,—crafty,—unjust,—and violent;—and burieth them in utter ruin, and destruction.*

* In pursuing researches concerning the *Architecture*, and History of past ages, the transition, from considering seven or eight hundred years as high antiquity, (as it certainly appeared to be, when either *Augustus*, or *Agrippa*, looked back upon the days of *Tarquin*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar*), to the considering between two and three thousand years as yesterday, (which we are insensibly led to do, in contemplating *the Sewers of Rome*, and *the Gates of Babylon*), fills the reflecting mind, at once, with awful apprehensions of the vanity, and nothingness of human existence on earth.—Yet, on the other hand, when in some instances we *slowly* trace back, step by step, two or three hundred years;—and cannot avoid looking with a sort of veneration on the now distant events, and works, of only *a third* preceding century; and then, on a sudden, with rapidity dart with the eye of the mind to the contemplation of what passed three or four thousand years ago, with a retrospect, not much differing from the former,—it is impossible to avoid feeling the strange comprehensiveness with which the human soul is endowed;—and it is as impossible not to be filled with admiration of that wondrously extended plan of Divine Providence, that comprises the whole destination of the human race, from its first beginning, on this habitable globe, to its latest end here;—or to avoid being convinced, that most assuredly, such comprehensiveness of the human soul, will not finally be found to have been a Gift bestowed upon us *here* in vain;—or without its connection with somewhat *hereafter*.

the daring efforts of the vain,--boastful,--crispy,--unjust,--and violent;--and punish them in their ruin, and destruction.

In putting researches concerning the Antiquities and History of past ages, the transition from considering seven or eight hundred years as high antiquity, for it certainly appeared to be, when either Egyptian, or Assyrian, looked back upon the days of Yaxmin, and of Nabonassar, to the concluding between two and three thousand years as yesterday, (which we are incessantly led to do) in contemplating the ruins of Rome, and the City of Babylon, fills the reflecting mind, at once, with awful apprehensions of the vanity, and nothingness of human existence on earth. Yet, on the other hand, when in some instances we slowly trace back, step by step, two or three hundred years;--and cannot avoid looking with a sort of veneration on the now distant events, and works, of only a third preceding century; and then, on a sudden, with rapidly darting the eye of the mind to the contemplation of what passed three or four thousand years ago, with a retrospect, not much differing from the former,--it is impossible to avoid feeling the strange comprehensiveness with which the human soul is endowed;--and it is as impossible not to be filled with admiration of that wondrously extended plan of Divine Providence, that comprises the whole destination of the human race, from its first beginning on this habitable globe, to its latest end here;--or to avoid being convinced, that most amazingly, such comprehensiveness of the human soul, will not finally be found to have been a Gift bestowed upon us for in vain;--or without its connection with



2^d Frontispiece



MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER II.

OBSERVATIONS, CONCERNING THE HISTORY, AND ORIGIN OF THE FIRST CHURCHES, AND RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES, AMONGST THE SAXONS.—AND ALSO CONCERNING THE STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE,—DURING THE WHOLE PERIOD OF THE SAXON, AND DANISH MONARCHIES, IN BRITAIN.

WHEN the glorious truths of the Holy Gospel were first made known in this Country, we have every reason to believe it was taught, in the most primitive, uncorrupt, and sincere manner; (whether St. Paul ever was here or not); and produced the fervent labours, and sufferings, of the most faithful, most honest, and well-disposed minds, rather than any architectural efforts of magnificence, or ostentation.

Devout, and righteous men, fearing God, and believing in His CHRIST, sought only, if it were possible, in the midst of a turbulent age, to dwell in peace:—and, wishing to promote the welfare of all mankind, to be permitted to pursue their own pious meditations, and honest labours, in their several necessary occupations, without molestation.

Hence, their places of assembling for religious worship were small; and just sufficiently convenient for the few that could easily assemble together.—And though we have every reason to be assured, (as indeed that excellent writer *Mr. Mede** proves,

* See *Mede's Works*, in his *Account of Churches, and Places for Christian Worship*, in the first, second, and third Centuries; in which he cites, amongst others, even the

from several instances,) that the first Christians, in the more civilized parts of the world, were exceedingly attentive to make the upper rooms, and chambers, where they did so assemble for religious worship, and instruction, not only as decently clean, and neat, as they possibly could; but also to render them as well adorned, with such costly ceilings, and decorous fitting up, as was by any means in their power; that so they might, by the utmost exertions of every faculty they possessed, praise, and laud, that *Holy Name*, which alone is worthy to be magnified in heaven and on earth; yet, in this remote country, no such costly decorations can be supposed to have existed, in the first early ages.

The Religious of Bangor, upon whom the disgraceful name of *monks* has been bestowed by latter ages; which has deprived them of the veneration that was due to their first institution; (and who do indeed unhappily seem, in the *last* period of their existence, about A. D. 613, to have then adopted such degrees of superstition, as might well deserve such reproach) appear to have been originally, merely an assemblage of *whole families*, devoted to the profession, and maintenance of the true religion of the Gospel;—who chose to live *near* each other; and supported themselves diligently by their own industry;* using, at the same time, every means in their power, to instruct, and civilize the world.

The vast extent of their place of abode, which had its gates at the distance of a mile from each other,† plainly shews how far this mode of life was from what might properly be called *monastick*;—and how numerous their families and dwellings must have been;—whilst we may be assured their want of funds prevented them from being able to rear any Great Structures.

From this humble society of Christians, *St. Columba*, (as he is called,) or *Columbanus*, went forth with zeal, and energy, to instruct the rude Irish;—amongst whom he obtained influence sufficient to form the beginnings of some other religious societies; but in the

account of *Lucian*, the great adversary of the Christians, concerning the *golden roofs, and ceilings*, of their upper rooms for prayer, p. 319, 325, &c.—and he also informs us, how many of these sacred and richly ornamented apartments were destroyed, during the ten years persecution, in the time of *Dioclesian*, p. 333.

* Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 2. Sax. An. A. D. 607. Spelman Council. p. 108.

† See Bedæ Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2. and W. Malmsh. lib. i. cap. 3.

midst of a wild people, was unavoidably led to adopt some wild, and austere means.—From hence also he further went forth, about A.D. 565, with earnest endeavour to teach the *Picts*, and *Scots*;^{*}—and in consequence of the striking sincerity, and humility of his life, and manners, obtained so great an ascendancy over both those people, that he became amongst them a truly christian *peace maker*, with nearly the authority of a *Dictator* voluntarily yielded to him by both nations, for more than thirty years;†—and by that means he obtained power, and assistance, to build some Places for Religious worship, with adjacent habitations for the residence of his new Religious Societies:‡—and in one of these (the most celebrated of all the rest), which was established in the island of *Hii*, or *Hy*, amongst the Hebrides, (now called *Iona*||), many

* Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. i. ch. 13.

† Adamnan, Vita St. Columbæ.

‡ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. ch. 4.

|| The impositions palmed upon the world, by his Successors, who chose to describe this first establishment as being a *regular, and rigid monastery*, which, most likely, he himself never thought of, has given occasion to Sir Roger Twisden, Mr. Pennant, and other valuable writers, to shew disrespect to the character of *Columba*, and to treat him, and his history, very freely, and very roughly.—But candour ought perhaps rather to induce us to acknowledge, that he was an excellent man;—and that there was even a great degree of similarity between his conduct, and labours, and those of that admirable man *Bernard Gilpin*; who in a much later age, and in the midst of the corruptions of later times, was the means of making peace amongst many neighbouring wretched feudal savages, on the borders between England, and Scotland; and of converting many people in those savage countries, to the knowledge of, and adherence to sound religion.—*Gilpin's History* has been well written, by his ingenious descendant *William Gilpin*, together with the life of that most primitive man, and faithful Christian martyr, Bishop Latimer; both of whom would probably have been, had they lived in those early days, hearty fellow labourers with the religious of *Bangor*, and with *Columba*, and with those of *Iona*; though they would have been no accessaries to the succeeding monks; but, on the contrary, (as they really were in their own days;) and as *Columba* himself, we may believe, would have been, in such days as *Gilpin's*, their sincere, and vehement reprovers.

There have been many disputes, as to his birth, whether *Columbanus* was really born in Scotland, or Ireland.—And some learned men, to reconcile this difference, have supposed there were *two* persons of this name.*—Whether that was, or was not the case, is not very material on the present occasion, as the labours of the original *Columba*, were unquestionably such as have been here described

With these labours however, might possibly be joined a propensity to some rigid observances.—But as to what is said, that *Columba* composed a system of laws so severe, that if one of his religious smiled in the time of divine service, he was to receive fifty lashes

* See Henry's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 6.

excellent persons received their education, from his instructions, some of whom were sent, in succeeding years, to convert the *Saxons*.

During all the intervening time, a part of the *Britons* still continued professing Christianity, in their original plain simple manner;—but although they had, at intervals, certain great Christian assemblies, which have been dignified by the name of *British Synods*; and *British Councils*; and which, it is remarkable, seem to have been composed equally of a mixed multitude of the most considerable persons, both of the laity, as well as of clerical

with a whip;—and that, by another, they were to meet three times every night, in the church, and to sing 96 psalms, and 12 anthems;—it is hardly possible to be true, even from the circumstance of the very space of time required for such performance.—If it were true; we can only say, that corruption grew up faster than instruction.—And as it has been observed that such religious would not be much disposed to smile, so we may add, that science could not much increase; nor any love for religion; in the manner it actually did increase in those seminaries. This tale therefore, one is willing to believe ought to be rejected, unless applied to a second *Columba*, of a somewhat later age.

The place *Columba* chose for his safe and quiet retreat, and from whence he launched, like Noah's dove, (from which idea he took his feigned religious name) was, like the ark, a most sequestered, and *not an unpleasant* abode.—In the Island of *Iona*, dwelt in stormy regions, and in stormy times, a little sincere religion, a little science, good sense, good meaning, and peace. And from hence it flew forth, endeavouring to find a place of abode, or at least to extend its influence, in the rest of the British Isles.

It was one of the most fertile of the Hebrides; a flat on the east side, and in the middle; but fenced, in a picturesque manner, by high steep rocks on the west, which form, in appearance to the eye, a sort of wall of inclosure; whilst the narrow chasms between the rocks, afford winding verdant paths, leading down to the Western Ocean.

Here the Religious made one of the earliest efforts *towards gardening*; (which in those days was viewed as a sort of restoration of Paradise, and of which we shall find, for several ages afterwards, the *Monks* continued to be introducers, even in England) transplanting from other places, herbs, both esculent, and medicinal.—Here a chest of books, (brought from Rome, by *Fergus II.* who had assisted *Alaric* the Goth in 410,) laid the foundation of one of the most distinguished Libraries that existed during the Saxon period.—Here both a Convent of nuns, or rather a voluntary association of rational, well disposed, ingenious women, with some elegance of mind; and a Convent of intelligent ingenious men, (afterwards debased by the appellation of lazy monks) exercised as much genius as the circumstances of the times would admit;—and here, in consequence of the veneration which the labours of *Columba*, and so many combined circumstances had produced, many Kings and Princes of Scotland, of Ireland, and of Norway had their sepulchres. See Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 242, 243, 248, 257, 258, and also a little sketch which gives a very tolerable idea of the plain and picturesque wall, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIII. p. 593. See also Boethius, lib. vii. p. 114, and Henry's History, Vol. IV. p. 7.

professions;* (and in one of which Vortigern is said to have been deposed;—and, in another *Dubritius* to have been translated from Landaff to Carleon;—and in a third King *Arthur* to have been crowned; and his uncle *David* to have been appointed Archbishop of Caerleon;—and in others, afterwards means were adopted to prevent the spreading of *Pelagianism*;)—yet we do not find, that any considerable *Churches* were ever built;—or even named; whatever the places appointed for Divine Worship, and Religious Instruction by *Columba* might be.

The one which has been described as having been at *Dover*; and those of wood, and mere wattled work, which have been mentioned, as existing in other places; were perhaps, if not the only *Churches* in the British Islands, yet the most considerable Structures that deserved the name:—and the religious assemblies of Christians in Britain, were most probably, in general, still held, chiefly in the rooms of private houses.

As to the public assemblies, or Councils, which have been referred to:—it is a painful reflection, to be obliged to acknowledge, that when their transactions are fairly analyzed, they only become a strong proof of the barbarous state of the world in those days;—setting forth, on the one hand, most horrid acts of perfidy, and cruelty; and, on the other, an early propensity to accept of, or at least to encourage, liberal donations to Ecclesiastical Communities, as sufficient evidences of repentance:†—laying a sad foundation for a sort of hypocritical *commutation*, that afterwards too easily took place.

But however the circumstances of the times might spread a snare, to draw mankind into the allowance of such corruptions; certain it is, that peace,—piety,—instructing converse,—increasing science, and some strains of melody,—were to be met with in these *early Christian Communities*, in a manner not to be found any where beyond their precincts; which indeed, in those days, might justly be deemed the precincts of light.

Hence it is no wonder, that we find persons of all ranks, so quickly enamoured with such striking dawnings of peace, and

* Spelman Concil. Vol. I. p. 60, 61.

† Spelman Concil. Vol. I. p. 60, 61.

civilization.—And so ready both *to found*, and to enter into those retired Societies, where science first began to appear;—where truth, the most interesting truth was to be heard;—and where civilized manners prevailed, instead of that brutal roughness, and ferocity, with which these countries were overspread.

Impressed with these ideas, *Ethelred*, King of Mercia, retired amongst these religious,—or (as our Annals now disgracefully relate it) *became a Monk*, in 704,—leaving his Crown to *Genred*, or *Conrad*.*

Genred also, with *Offa*, King of the East Saxons, embraced the monastick life, in the year 709.+

Ina King of Wessex, and his Queen *Ethelburga*, also retired to a monastery in Italy, in 728.†

Eadbert also, King of the Northumbrians, retired into a monastery in 758.§

No wonder therefore, that the nobility, and common people, (according to the complaint of *Venerable Bede*), abandoned the use of arms, and crowded into such seats of polite conversation,—of ease,—elegance,—and information;||—Or that, in process of time, Ladies crowded to Rome, as the fancied place where every such advantage was to be found, in a manner superior to all the rest:—but where we are frankly told, by Pope *Boniface*,¶ they were never the better for their pains;—and in sad truth were even sometimes prostituted.

The evident prevalence of fashion, whose tyranny prevails over weak minds in all ages,—and the corrupt abuse of pretended Retirement, and pretended useful Converse, by hypocritical, or enthusiastic beings, whose natural dispositions were utterly incapable of enjoying either, and who wanted abilities to fit them for any thing sublime, was quite sufficient to produce such sad mistake, and perversion;—whilst the strong testimony of concurring facts leaves no reason to doubt of the plain simplicity of the

* Chron. Saxon.

† Chron. Saxon, p. 50. Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. v. ch. 19.

‡ W. Malms. lib. i. ch. 2.

§ Simeon Dunelm. ch. 18.

|| Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. v. ch. 23.

¶ Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 237.

earliest Religious Societies, even *Saxon*, as well as *British*; which were merely places of safety, and quiet, for the cultivation of science;—without any vows of Celibacy;—without superstitious regard for Relics;—without idolatrous worship of images;—and without any affected vows of poverty,—or peculiarity of habit;—without any clerical exemption from the *Civil Power*;*—and without the least devoted subjection either to Papal Power, or to any particular See;—inasmuch as they were long governed only by such Lay Patrons,+ or by such Lay Patronesses, as had in either instances themselves founded these Societies;—and who had thus associated persons of piety, and ingenuity, to dwell near them, even for their own private comfort:—and they were afterwards governed, for many years, by the successive regular Descendants of such Noble Families.

Here dwelt Bishops, in learned Society, with their Clergy; who from hence went forth, from time to time, to preach in the surrounding country.—Here, the *then only* seminaries of education were established.—And hither, in advanced life, many of the most experienced, and best informed persons of the age, took up their abode, to enjoy the only rational conversation, and almost the only pleasant mode of dwelling, that was then to be met with.†

* So far indeed were they from having any exemption from civil power, that in 740 we find Pope Boniface complaining to Archbishop Cuthbert, that the religious were obliged to perform servile work, in assisting to build Castles.—See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 237.—which complaint of the Pope, is at once a proof both of the fact mentioned above; and also that Castles actually had been *built*, and were *building*, in this country, before the year 740, that is not only very long before the time of the Normans, but also long before the time of King *Alfred*.

† A great deal of pains was taken by the Popes, to change this system.—And, at last, a decree of the Council of Cloveshoos was ordained, in 803, for this very end. See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 324.

‡ To all these inducements for a recluse life, in monastick society, was added, in early days, the consideration that such mode of life was no further obligatory than suited convenience, and choice:—for even, nearly to the days of the Emperor *Justinian*, in all Countries, the religious Recluses of both sexes were at liberty to leave their respective societies, and to marry at any time.—And there are instances, on record, of such liberty having been used.—Their habits, and dress also, were just the same as those most

+ Jerom. Tom. I. p. 256.—Collation xxiv. 1.—Chardon Hist. des Sacramens, Tom. VI. p. 279, 300.

Such fair enticements, misunderstood, and mistaken, might but too easily become a means whereby mankind were insensibly led to adopt the mischievous innovations of the *Monastick life*.—And indeed it is impossible to believe, that they should, without such means of deception, ever have suffered so gross an imposition to be palmed upon the world.—Even whilst we pursue our Inquiries concerning the Progress of *Architectural Improvements*, we shall perceive *how* several of these innovations, and corruptions gradually took place.—And it well deserves attention *how* the first foundations both of all the good, and of all the evil, of the whole system of Religious Establishments were laid.*

usually worn by the common classes of persons in their respective countries;† and in the long course of ages became singular, only by their retaining, without alteration, the antient mode.—Their habitations also, were simple, and plain, like those of the people in general.—And if in Egypt they consisted merely of low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials, it was because such were the usual slight dwellings of most people in that hot country;—and they were all decently disposed in regular streets, as in a populous village, and inclosed within a common wall.—Even the hard mat, and the rough blanket of the monks, was originally the common bed of most other persons, as well as of the Religious.—And it was fanatasm alone that introduced austere restraints, and oppressive severities.

So far also was the original monastick life from forbidding industry, and rendering men useless; that manual labour was both recommended as an employment continually; and sometimes commanded as a penance:—and both gardens, and fields, were rescued from forests, and morasses, and cultivated by their hands.‡—Boats were built; and well formed sandals made; and mats, and baskets of great utility, were constructed by them;§—and the monuments of Greek, and Roman literature were, even from age to age, multiplied by fair copies, and preserved by their indefatigable pens.||—Even solitude, was at first, as in the case of *Basil*, and *Nazianzen*,¶ mere voluntary choice, for the sake of contemplation, and science;—and it was the fanatic imposition of it, as a rigid rule, upon those who had neither abilities nor disposition to improve hours of retirement rightly, that alone turned it into that dire evil, which was found in the end to be the consequence of monastick institutions.—To all these inducements, which led so many persons to join the religious Recluses, it ought perhaps to be added as an additional one, and by no means the least, that their devout *Psalmody* was one of the *first* best improvements of music, surpassing what the world had ever before been acquainted with.**

* See Bedæ Epist. ad Egberet. And Theodori Pœnitent, p. 7.

† See Regul. Benedict, No. 55. in Cod. Regul. pars ii. p. 51.

‡ P. Thomasin—Discipline de l'Eglise, Tom. III. p. 1090, 1139. P. Mabillon—Etudes Monastiques, Tom. I. p. 116.—155.

§ Cave's Lives of the Fathers, p. 478.

|| P. Mabillon—Etudes Monastiques, Tom. I. p. 47, 55. Cassian. Institut. lib. iv. ca. 12.

¶ Cave's Lives of the Fathers, p. 474, 478, 523, 544.

** Ibid. p. 478. Naz. Ep. ix. p. 774.

In the year 586, the last of the British Bishops, *Theonus*, who presided at London, and *Thadiocus*, Archbishop of York, fled with such of their clergy as escaped the swords of the Saxons, into Cornwall, and Wales.*—And whilst the mass of the British Clergy, who, (according to the complaint of Gildas) had indeed become dreadfully corrupted, were so grievously punished;—and whilst Christianity was nearly eradicated from amongst the remaining Britons in England, except in the secret Chamber;—it was taking the deeper root in Ireland; and Scotland; where for a time it remained in a purer state.

At length, as an illustrious Woman, educated in one of the British Seminaries of Religious, in this Island, the celebrated Empress *Helena*, mother of *Constantine*, had been a great means of converting the Roman Empire, about the year 300;—so another zealous Female, who had received a pious education in one of the Religious Societies in France, *Bertha*, the daughter of King *Charibert*, and Queen of *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, by the insinuation attending the excellence of her manners, became the means of converting the Saxons, about the year 600;—but unhappily also the innocent means of introducing a less pure religion than had been taught in this Island originally;—as it seems to appear, by the over-weaning eagerness of *Augustin*; who through her interest was received here as a Missionary in 597, from Pope *Gregory* the Great; and who brought over with him, not only much true zeal, but such corruptions of Christianity, as had then become introduced at Rome.

Queen *Bertha*, having the practice of her Religion secured to her, by agreement upon her marriage, had amongst her Attendants a plain Christian Bishop, *Luidhard*; and with his assistance revived Christian worship in the old Church which had been built near Canterbury in the time that the Romans possessed Britain:—And soon afterwards obtained the Establishment of a Religious Society of Christians, under the Instruction of *Augustin*, and his Companions.†—Some short time after which, Pope *Gregory* invested *Augustin* with the character of *Archbishop*; and *Ethelred* appointed Canterbury to be the seat of his Residence.

* Math. Westmon. ad annum.

† Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. ca. 25, 26, 33.

About the year 601,* *Mellitus*,—*Justus*,—*Paulinus*,—and *Rufinianus*, other Christian Teachers, on the invitation of *Augustin*, were also sent by *Gregory* to England;—and by them, other Religious Societies were formed, at *London*, (where *Mellitus* was appointed the first Bishop), and in several other places.

Ethelburga, Sister to *Eadbald* King of Kent, had been educated under the care of those religious persons who came over with *Luidhard*, and with *Augustin*; and being married afterwards to *Edwin*, King of Northumberland, in 625, carried with her *Paulinus*, and other Christian attendants, who became the means, of converting the *Saxons*, in those northern parts; and of establishing Christian Societies there.

About the year 631, *Sigebert*, King of the East Angles, who himself in the days of his adversity, before he ascended the Throne, had been instructed in the Christian Religion whilst exiled in France, established not only a Christian Society, but Christian Schools, under the conduct of *Felix*, a pious *Burgundian*, whom he had brought over with him.†

And about 637, *Anna*,‡ the Nephew of Redwald, succeeded *Egric* to the Crown of East Anglia.—He had married *Hereswitha*, the great Grand-Daughter of *Edwin*, King of Northumberland;—and her Sister *Hilda* was at the head of the Religious Society formed at *Whitby*.—This King *Anna*, soon became one of the first, and greatest encouragers of building various Places for Religious Worship, to promote the endeavours of the good *Honorius*;§—and his Daughters, *Sexburga*, married to *Ercombert*, King of Kent,—*Edelburga*,—*Etheldreda*,—and *Withburga*, established several great Religious Societies, amongst which they dwelt, and over which they presided; and which then began to be characteristically distinguished by the Name of *Monasteries*; though free from those rigid Rules, which afterwards disgraced, and by degrees, in their consequences, so grossly corrupted them.||

* Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. ca. 29.—lib. ii. ca. 3, 14.

† Angl. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 403.—Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. ca. 18.

‡ Asser. Annal. p. 146. Edit. Gale.

§ Lib. Elien, M. S. lib. i. ca. 7.

|| This King *Anna* has been already mentioned, as having sometimes resided at

When the *Saxons* had become converted in great numbers; in the year 633, *Honorius*, a most excellent, considerate, and devout man, who had succeeded *Augustin*, at Canterbury, first of all began, for the sake of the greater order, and regularity, to divide the extent of country over which he presided into subdivisions, for preaching, and teaching;—afterwards called *Parishes*:—and further, for the sake of a more steady, and constant promulgation of the Gospel, appointed some well-informed Christian to take up his abode regularly, for a considerable space of time, in each.*

After this; a native of Tarsus in Cilicia,† as St. Paul had been,—one surely of the most zealous, and most able men that ever presided in the See of Canterbury, *Archbishop Theodore*,—considering the uninstructed, and illiterate state of the age, and labouring to relieve it from its inveterate darkness, was the very *first* who called upon, and exhorted the great Landholders, and Civil Leaders of the age, to build, what we now call, *Parish Churches*.

This was about the year 670.—And to encourage them to this religious work,‡ he declared that they who undertook it, should themselves, and also their Successors, be Patrons of those Churches;—or in other words should have power to appoint any sincere Christian they pleased to teach therein.—As this zealous promoter of religion, and science, lived many years; we may hence account for the first origin of many of those religious parochial structures, which we shall soon have occasion to take into consideration.—And from hence we may learn the true date of some of the earliest specimens of *Saxon Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

Every one of these first Churches was, according to the original plan of *Honorius*, to be attended by some plain zealous Christian; *voluntarily resident*, for a considerable space of time; when one could be met with willing so to reside, and teach;—or else

Orford Castle; and the rather, as after he was slain by *Penda* he was buried at *Blithborow* in *Suffolk*, where he had built one of the very first *Saxon Churches*.

* Godwin, p. 59.

† See a very interesting and candid account of those times, in *Henry's History of England*, Vol. IV. p. 12.

‡ Bedæ. Ed. Wheelock, p. 399.

occasionally by some one visiting the Church, for the purpose of officiating at divine service, and of teaching; sent at stated times from some neighbouring Religious Society;—whence, by degrees, took place originally, the distinction between *Secular*, and *Regular* Clergy.

And to render the attendance more numerous, and to win the ignorant unconverted people of these dark ages, to hearken to instruction,—to worship God,—and to receive the light of the Gospel:—even *markets* and *fairs* were, by the influence of *Theodore*, and his Bishops, purposely appointed to be held in the neighbourhood of such Churches, on Sundays, and on Festivals;—that when men came of necessity to purchase provisions, and articles of convenience, at the only places where they could in those days,* *by the Laws of the Land*, be legally disposed of, they might also have the best opportunity of assembling for the purpose of Religious Worship, and Information.

So well intended was the first establishment of that custom, which afterwards became so much subject to abuse; and which was at last, in the days of Reformation, therefore changed.†

Well would it have been, if other perverted customs (thus first begun with good intention, on the dawn of true Religion, and of art, and science) had been changed also.

Soon did such perversion appear in every shape.—Superstitious Pilgrimages to Rome, were substituted, as imitations of those journies, which the most zealous of the first teachers of religion and science, in these dark ages, had undertaken to the Continent for religious instruction.

And, by the crafty, they were soon made a means of carrying on a very odd sort of smuggling, even in those early days;‡—whilst by the idle, and vain, they were made a pretence for every means of dissipation, and folly.

* See Wilkins's *Leges Saxon.* p. 9.

† Spelman's *Concil.* p. 377, 404, 450, 500, 518; and see Henry's *History*, Vol. IV. p. 204.

‡ W. Malms. lib. i. ca. 4, p. 32, has given us the very Treaty between *Charlemagne*, and King *Offa*, negotiated by *Alcuin*, to put an end to this fraud.—This did not however prevent their trafficking afterwards with *dead men's bones*.

People of all ranks: even those whose means were insufficient for the undertaking of the journey, and who had to beg their way, fell into this snare.

The Princes of the land became subject to it, and led the van.

Coinred, or *Conrad*, King of Mercia, even laid down his sceptre, in 709; and took up (what was called) the Pilgrim's Staff.*—He was followed by *Offa*, a young Prince of the Royal House of the East Saxon Kings.—And soon after, also *Ina*, the victorious King of the West Saxons, with his Queen, imitated their example.†—Persons of different ranks followed, in proportion to their abilities, till, in 1035, the rage for these sort of excursions was become so great; that the roads between England, and Rome, were in such manner crowded with Pilgrims, as to make the very tolls they paid objects of great consequence to the potentates through whose countries they passed.

Most Englishmen who had ability to defray the expences, thought themselves bound to shew this mark of respect to St. Peter;—whom they were, in process of time, taught to fancy, was actually to be visited at Rome,—and that he there kept the keys of heaven.‡

In the mean while, persons whose situation, or want of ability, would not permit them to visit the great metropolis of art, and superstition, were glad, by way of imitation, to visit some distant Religious House, in their own country:—receiving at least some benefit to their health and spirits, arising from change of scene, change of air, and a pleasant journey in chearful company, according to Chaucer's merry description of Pilgrimages in later ages;—and having the additional comfort, derived from hospitable reception, and a little instructive conversation, in the Monasteries, before the dreadful abuses, and impositions of idolatrous superstition, had perverted the whole.

In short, as the first Monasteries were seminaries, and the only seminaries of science, good manners, and elegance, as well as of religion;—and the only places where good music was to be heard;

* Bedæ lib. v. ca. 19.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 53.

‡ See Wm. Malmsbury, lib. ii. ca. 11.

—and cultivated gardens seen:—so pilgrimages soon became even a means of pleasant relaxation, and of beneficial changes of scene, for health, as well as of superstitious devotion.

To the encouragement given to these Religious Societies; and to this great respect for them, we may undoubtedly, in part attribute both the science that began to dawn in the writings of Venerable *Bede*, in the midst of the darkest and most ferocious age;—and the uncommon degree of tranquillity, and peace, which England enjoyed* about A. D. 730:—even the very Picts, and Scots, being in fast friendship, and in peaceful unity with their Christian brethren, throughout the whole Island.

Having however seen this favourable, and pleasant part of the History of Religious Foundations; and of the first Religious Structures; before we enter into a precise description of the style of the successive works of Architecture, it deserves a little attention, in what manner, and by what means the scene became gradually changed, and the whole of these establishments, in the end, so horribly perverted.†

The unhappy contentions amongst the Eastern Churches, hav-

* *Bede's Hist. Eccles. lib. v. ch. 23.* *Wm. Malms. lib. i. ch. 2.*

† It is an observation capable of being but too often applied, and that unquestionably offers itself on the present occasion; that in almost every instance on earth, as soon as any good exertions have been exercised, or any advantages have, by the merciful gift of God, by whatever means been bestowed upon the world, the whole have, by the subtilty of the evil one, soon been corrupted and perverted;—even as the blessed and glorious work of creation itself was so soon defiled.

Thus therefore, these Religious Foundations, designed unquestionably, with sincere zeal, for the retreats of piety, virtue, industry, and ingenuity; and as nurseries for science;—in the construction of whose walls the then best efforts, and utmost exertions of the mental faculties were exercised, became very soon, in several instances, the most pernicious nurseries of sloth, vice, ignorance, and folly:—and, by means of the temptations of lucrative dignities which they held forth, a prey to crafty cunning, and proud ambition; and to corrupt minds, who, to cover their sinister views, became even monsters of cruelty, and oppression.—Dull stupidity, and gross misapprehension, defended by craft, and overbearing insolence, have from age to age, continued to be the sources of most of the mischiefs that have arisen in the world; defeating good, obscuring truth, and becoming a means both of perverting, and preventing, the many blessings that Divine Bounty unmeritedly bestows.—But Almighty God, by his blessed over-ruling Providence, doth continually deliver; and will finally deliver from all this evil, in His appointed Way.

ing given an opportunity to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome,* (to whom *Athanasius* had appealed as a mere *Referee*, about the year 350), to claim a superiority over other Sees; the advantage was so sensibly felt, and so diligently cultivated both by his own adherents, and by those Eastern Churches whose cause was supported by his determination, that *thenceforth* the exaltation of the Papal Power, by whatever means it might be effected, became continually the first object of attention, and of the most unwearied pursuit, to very many professed Christians,—even beyond their regard for truth, and the Word of God.

In 596 *Augustin* arrived on these shores from Rome, flaming with zeal of this kind, however sincere and pious his purposes and endeavours might be in other respects.

And whilst he brought over with him, both the civilized improvements of life,—and the corruptions of Religion, that had, by degrees, been introduced abroad;—a dangerous prelude to the introduction of *Image Worship*,† soon appeared, even on his very first entering the City of Canterbury, where *Ethelbert* resided:—

* See the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus, lib. ii. cap. 11, 18.

† It is not very difficult to perceive *how* the early introduction of this sad corruption of Christianity unhappily took place, after the Church once became freed from persecution, and was rendered the object of Imperial favour, and protection.—It seems to have been, by means of Gentile converts being desirous to honour men Eminent for Religion, just as Princes, and Great Warriors, and Great Philosophers, had been continually honoured formerly amongst themselves;—by erecting *Images* of them, and treating those *Images* with respect.

When not only the Statues of *Caligula* had been clothed every day in the same sort of garments that he himself wore, for the purpose of receiving public honours from the people;‡—but it was become a common custom for each new Emperor, on being raised to the Purple, to send his *Image* to his Colleagues, adorned with the marks of Imperial Dignity:§—and for the *Images* of the three Colleagues together to be exhibited to the veneration of the People:—and when even *Theodosius*, and other Christian Emperors, had their *Images* placed as objects of veneration, in the most conspicuous places of Antioch, and other Cities;§—and the pious Empress *Eudoxia* had caused her *Image* to be carried through all the Provinces of the Empire, and to receive the same honours that were paid to the *Images* of the Emperors;||—It is no wonder that half

‡ Suetonius, C. Caligula, ca. 22 and 52. Dio. p. 660, 661.

† Universal His. Vol. XV. p. 536.

§ Gibbon's His. Vol. V. p. 13, 60, 64. Octavo.

|| Universal His. Vol. XVI. p. 488.

for his entry was made, by the King's leave, in most solemn procession, with a *Picture* of Our LORD CHRIST; and a silver cross carried before him,* during the singing of an hymn.

A no less dangerous introduction also of a superstitious regard to *Relicks*,—as well as to *Pictures*,—and to frivolous rites, and observances,—next appeared, in the admonitions given to him, by

converted Gentiles should think it a sort of justifiable zeal, to erect Statues to Saints, and Martyrs; and to shew the same kind of honour, and respect to them.

And thus did an imitation of Antient Idolatry again insinuate itself; which, to the rude multitude at large, soon became of the most horrible and abominable kind;—whilst to obtain more attention from the vulgar, imposing tricks were even played with *Images*, as they had been played in preceding days with idols at *Alexandria*; by means of the load stone; and by means of pipes, and secret cavities. Gibbon's His. Vol. V. p. 112.

Perhaps also, on this occasion, it ought not to be forgotten, that even *St. Chrysostom*, whilst he censures the luxury of the reign of *Arcadius*, celebrates, with approbation, the magnificence of the *Imperial Pictures*, (which were white, on a blue ground), and where the Emperor appeared in full Majesty, seated on his Throne:—and that afterwards, about 602, *Phocas*, on his advancement to the Empire, sent his own *Image*, and that of his Wife, to Rome, to Pope *Gregory the Great*; who lodged them, with respect, in the Oratory of the Martyr *Cæsarius*.—See *Chrysostomi Opera*, Tom. XII. p. 192, 196; *Univers. His.* Vol. XVII. p. 13; and *Gibbon's His.* Vol. V. p. 373.

In the Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius*, lib. vii. ca. 17, we have such an account of the very first beginning of the adoption of the custom of setting up of *Images* by Christians, as fully proves its origin from the Gentiles:—for he relates that, even unto his time, there remained, according to what was reported to him, over the door of the house at *Paneas*, where the woman dwelt who was cured by Our Saviour of the Issue of Blood, an *Image of Brass*, of a woman kneeling, in a supplicating posture, and another of a man standing, comely arrayed in a short vesture, and stretching forth his hand towards her,—which was always reported to be the *Image of Jesus*. And he adds, that he had himself seen *Pictures* of the Apostles, graven in colours, after the same manner as men of old, of a heathenish custom, were wont to honour such as they counted Saviours.

Polydor Virgil also tells us, how the common people afterwards were gradually led by their Priests to adorn the *Images* of Saints; and reproves their excess, and error herein. *De Inventor. Rerum.* lib. vi. ca. 13.

And it is well known, that this reverence for *Images*, increased at length to such a degree, in this country, that *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a council held at Oxford, 1408, ordained that the *Images of Saints* ought to be worshipped, with bendings of the knee, bowings of the body, incensings, kissings, offerings, lighting of candles, and with Pilgrimages.—*Lindewod's Constit. Provin.* lib. v. ca. de Hæret.

Whilst *Cornelius Agrippa* fairly confesses, that from *Ethnics* it was, that the Roman Church derived the custom of receiving the mute *Images of Saints* into Churches, and of placing them with veneration on God's Altar.—See *De Vanitate Scientiar.* cap. 53. See also *Polydor Virg. de Inventor. Rerum.* lib. vi. ca. 13.

* See *Bedæ* lib. i. ca. 25, and *Gervase Act Pontific Cant.* apud decem Script. Col. 1632.

Pope Gregory;—to turn the Heathen Temples into Churches;—to wash the walls with *holy water*;—to erect altars in them, and therein to deposit *Relicks*;—and to accommodate the ceremonies of the

* Bedæ Hist. lib. i. ca. 30.—The lively apprehensions of a state of great glory, and of everlasting holy arrangement, order, and bliss, to take place, *finally*, in consequence of the Great Redemption accomplished by JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE CHRIST OUR LORD; and a firm conviction that his faithful Servants, gathered out of all nations, should have a *portion* of that bliss and glory, and an *establishment* therein; induced some of the earliest Christians, in the warmth of their zealous imaginations, to think, that by shewing respect to the ashes, and bones, and earthly remains of those faithful Servants of their Lord, they should manifest the more effectually their zeal; and obtain an interest with them hereafter.—Hence, crafty, interested, and ambitious men, who, according to the words of the Apostle, (1 Tim. ch. vi. ver. 5.), took *gain for godliness*, soon found a means of introducing both the *regard for Relicks*;—and the consequent idolatrous, and abominable *worshipping of Saints*.—A worship, which, to those of all others, who, by God's merciful deliverance, have ever deserved such name, would surely be most abhorrent.

This matter is more fully explained, and very thoroughly illustrated by the admirable Sir Isaac Newton, in his Observations on the Prophecies, ca. 14.—See Bp. Horsey's Ed. Vol. V. pt. i. ca. xiv. p. 418:—and we have a very curious account given us in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, of the gradual manner, in which even the piety of some of the early Fathers of the Church, and the declamatory eloquence even of CHRYSOSTOM, whilst they were only endeavouring to do justice to the memory of faithful sufferers for the name of Christ their Lord, yet led insensibly to the reverence for *dead men's bones*,—and in so great a degree, that in the time of Augustin many real or pretended Monks, went strolling about, as hawkers, and pedlars, selling *Relicks*. See Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 8.;—and see also, August. de Op. Monach, 28.

The first openly ostensible, and most important encouragement, given to the veneration of *Relicks*, was about A. D. 326:—when the Empress *Helena*, the mother of the Emperor *Constantine*, on her visiting Jerusalem, and building the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, having discovered the Cross, and the very Nails, (as was supposed),—and having inclosed one half of the former in a silver chest, or shrine, to be placed in her new Church of the Sepulchre,—sent the other half, and the nails, to her son *Constantine*,—who having received them, and believing, that the City “ would be preserved in perfect “ safety wherein part of the holy Cross should be deposited, *caused it to be placed concealed within his own Image, set up at Constantinople*, in that which is called *Constantine's Forum*, upon a great pillar of porphyry.”—And the Nails he is said to have disposed of, by causing bits for bridles, and helmets, and head pieces, which he wore in the field, to be made, containing parts thereof.—I add a literal translation of the words of *Eusebius*, because they do not seem to have been correctly adhered to, by Mr. Hammer, in his translation in 1584.

Τὸ δὲ σταυρῷ μέρος μὲν τι θήκη ἀργυρᾷ περιλείσασα, μνημόσυνον τοῖς ἱστορεῖν βυλομένοις, αὐτῇ κατέλιπε· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος ἀποτέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὅπερ δεχάμενος, καὶ πιστεύσας τελείως σωθῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἵνα αὐτῷ ἐκείνη φυλάττηται, τῷ ἑαυτῷ ἀνδριάντι κατέκρυψε, ὅς ἐν τῇ κατὰ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει, ἐν τῇ ἐπιλεγομένῃ ἀγορᾷ Κωνσταντίνου, ἐπὶ τοῦ πορφύρου καὶ μεγάλης κίονος ἰδρυταί. Socrates Schol. Hist. lib. i. ca. 17.

Of the Cross, one part she left there, inclosed in a silver chest; a memorial to those who

*Christian Worship as much as possible to those of the Heathen, that the people might not be too much startled at the change:**—nay

should be inclined to write history;—and the other part she sent to the King;—who receiving it, and believing that the City should be preserved in perfect safety in which it should be kept, concealed it inclosed within his own Statue, which is placed upon a great porphyry column, in the City named after Constantine, and in the Market (or Forum) called Constantine's.

There is a very curious account given of this Porphyry Pillar by Pococke, Vol. II. part ii. p. 131;—who says it consisted of ten pieces of porphyry, 33 French feet in circumference, (therefore about eleven feet in diameter), and each piece nine feet four inches long (or high);—and that it had at the top a bronze figure of Constantine, which had been a statue of Trojan Apollo;—and which, together with three of the upper stones, were thrown down by lightning; as the rest of the Pillar, and the Pedestal, have also been much damaged by a great fire, which destroyed the neighbouring part of the City, from whence this takes the name of the burnt pillar.—It was not far from the foot of this pillar, that Arius is said to have died; according to the account of Socrates Scholasticus, lib. i. cap. 25.

In less than a century after this, both St. Jerom, and St. Ambrose, began to give great encouragement, to an over-strained respect for, and over-strained endeavour to do honor to the remains of all those, who had ever suffered as Christians, or been the original promoters of the cause of truth.—See Jerom, Tom. II. p. 122.

Hence Ambrose, about 386, gave credit to a dream he had, leading him to search for the bodies of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius;—and afterwards endeavoured to convince himself, and others, that even miracles had been wrought by their bones.—And the Emperor Arcadius was persuaded to go in procession, at the head of the clergy, and Senate of Constantinople, to meet the ashes of the Prophet Samuel, which had been conveyed, with great pomp, the whole way from Palestine.—See Ambros, Tom. II. Epist. xxii. p. 875. Augustin Confes. lib. ix. ca. 7. Jerom. Tom. II. p. 122.

And the ambitious Empress Eudocia, having established in the Holy Land, (which she visited about A. D. 438), greater religious foundations than even those of the Empress Helena, returned to Constantinople laden with all manner of Relicks,—whilst the many Ecclesiastics about the Court, concurring with her endeavours, fully rivetted the fatal error.

A little well-meaning zeal only, might perhaps, by these means, be nurtured for a short time;—but ignorance, and blind bigotry, in the multitude were cherished also, and fed to the full:—whilst deep meditation, useful contemplation, and intent study, was banished further off than ever, by attention to these objects; and the human mind became alienated from spiritual devotion.

Nor did the rigid fasts which Jerom had so much promoted,—or the celibacy of the clergy,—which he had encouraged, in order to render their lives more contemplative, at all improve the matter, any more than his cruel persecution of an honest man, who was banished to a desert island, for being an enemy to both those heavy burthens.—See Jortin's Remarks, Vol. IV. p. 104. Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. xix. leg. 43.

* The gradual introduction of ceremonies, in conformity with those of the Pagans, and in order to win the Pagans;—and the dreadful effects of this compliance;—are curiously shewn, in a Book, now out of print, and very scarce, entitled *Pagano Papiasmus*, written by Joshua Stopford, a learned Divine of the City of York, in the year 1675.

even to allow them, on festivals, to kill oxen to the glory of God, as they had formerly on festivals, killed them, and offered them most abominably to idols.

These innovations, tenaciously introduced by *Augustin*,* (or as

* An imitation of the studied *Eloquence*, and *Oratory* of the Greeks, and Romans, and an imperceptible gradual adoption of the Greek *subtile philosophy*, may most unquestionably be reckoned amongst the first causes of the corruption of Christianity.—The holy Apostle *Paul* had diligently warned Christians against the one. (Colossians, chap. ii. ver. 8.). But the ambition of excelling in the other, for the sake of making a greater impression on the minds of the populace, caused even one of the most excellent of the Fathers, *Gregory Nazianzen*, to be a means, unintentionally, of introducing the *worship of Saints, and Martyrs*; whilst he took the liberty sometimes, by way of eloquence, of making *addresses to the dead*, which, in succeeding ages, as superstition advanced with a quicker pace, were pervertedly improved into formal *Invocations*, and actual Prayers to departed Saints.—See Orat. iii. p. 50.—xix. p. 288, 313.—xx. p. 372.—xxii. p. 397.—xi. p. 189.—xviii. p. 286.

After this, when *St. Jerom* had persuaded the devout *Paula*, the foundress of an hospital, and of four monasteries, to devote her young daughter *Eustochium* to a single, and monastick life, at Bethlem, about the year 400; he in a manner that may justly now appear to us even blasphemous, bestowed upon that illustrious widow, the encomium of saying, *Socrus Dei esse capisti*.—And afterwards began a treatise, in praise of her, with the most turgid, and bombast expressions.—See Jerom, Tom. I. p. 140, ad *Eustochium*, and also p. 169, 192.

And the excellent, and pious *John Chrysostom*, (who had studied rhetoric under *Libanius*, the great vindicator of Paganism) adopted perhaps too much of his manner, when he suffered himself to declaim against *all women*, whilst he was intentionally only preaching against his persecuting enemy, the Empress *Eudoxia* (whether the celebrated homily be spurious or not, which we now have, beginning with the apostrophe,—*Again Herodias rageth,—again Herodias danceth,—and seeketh the head of John in a platter*).—See Socrates Scholasticus, lib. vi. ca. 14, 16, 17. Sozomen, lib. viii. ca. 20.

And in a still earlier age, even the good *Tertullian*, indulging a flowing vein of oratory, was led to adopt declamatory expressions, that might too much tend to mislead the unwary; whilst in a celebrated Discourse on the last Day, and on a Future Judgment, he suddenly exclaimed, comparing the tremendous scene to that on a theatre, how *he should admire, and even laugh, rejoice, and exult*, at seeing the vengeance poured on the heads of those who had been the oppressors, troublers, and corrupters of the world.—For the curiosity of the passage I add the words of the original at large, leaving every one to translate for himself, because of the grossness of the expressions; and only in justice observing, that though these expressions, and the indulgence of *antitheses* in them, might lead to a very unchristian temper of mind, yet they were evidently only imitations of *fashionable Pagan Oratory*, and had their antidote, in the whole tenor of the truly charitable, and most benevolent Christian doctrines, of this excellent man.

“ Quid admirer? quid rideam? ubi gaudeam, ubi exultem, spectans tot ac tantos
“ Reges, qui in cœlum recepti nuntiabantur, cum ipso Jove et ipsis suis testibus in imis
“ tenebris cogemiscetes? item Præsides, persecutores Dominici nominis sævioribus,

he is often called *St. Austin*), together with a zealous effort to establish *Metropolitan* authority, over the more antient and still

"quam ipsi, flammis sævierunt, insultantibus contra Christianis, liquescentes? quos præ-
 "terea sapientes illos philosophos coram discipulis suis una conflagentibus erubescences
 "..... tunc histriones cognoscendi solutiores multo per ignem: tunc spectandus
 "auriga, inflammea tota totus rubens:—Tertullian de Spectaculis, ca. xxx. p. 156.

And soon followed those frequent declamatory threatnings, and that direful setting forth of the *horrors* of a future state, to the greater part of mankind, (which have been but too much imitated in later days), from an honest intention indeed, according to the awful admonition of the holy Apostle, (2 Corinthians, ch. v. ver. 11.) of *making known the terrors of the Lord* to persuade men;—but which, when *solely* dwelt upon,—and carried too far,—have a tendency either to make even the blessed *good news* of the gospel, to tender minds *no good news at all*; or else to drive them to monkish uselessness, and stupefaction.

Besides the instance of the unhappy effect of the imitation of *declamatory* Greek eloquence, in the preaching of that excellent good man *Gregory Nazianzen*; there was still an earlier instance, in the declamatory Writings of *Papias*; who, by strained oratorical expressions, principally, seems even to have brought into discredit, those plain traditions which had been preserved, as he assures us, concerning the *promised restoration of all things on earth*, from the mouth of *St. John*, and other holy Apostles, relating their immediate conversations with *OUR BLESSED LORD HIMSELF*:—and which *Irenæus*, who had been the disciple of *Papias*, delivered in a more cautious manner.—See Doctor Gregory Sharp's Argument in Defence of Christianity, 139, 140, 141; and Jortin's Remarks, Vol. II. p. 81.

Even *Eusebius*, (who most of all others censures *Papias*, for some of his doctrines), yet says, (lib. iii. ca. 33.) he was a man *remarkably eloquent, and expert in the Scriptures*;—And that the account *Papias* himself gave of the manner in which he acquired his doctrines was, that *if any came in place, which was a follower of the Apostles, forthwith I demanded what Andrew, what Peter, what Philip, &c. and what any of the disciples of the Lord had said, and I believed verily to profit myself,—by the lively voice of the reporters.*—See *Eusebius*, lib. iii. ca. 35.

In short, from first to last, this *declamatory spirit*, has continually had a tendency to corrupt some of the most sacred doctrines; and to bring others of the utmost importance into contempt; and in all ages, to substitute superstition, and rhapsody, in the room of genuine heartfelt religion, founded on conviction.

Those who are acquainted with Ecclesiastical History, will not forget the blasphemous manner in which *Amphilochius*, Bishop of Iconium, endeavoured to recommend the *Catholic doctrine*, to *Theodosius*, by a wilful disrespect to his son *Arcadius*, and then by a strainedly eloquent, and most shocking explanatory speech, on the occasion.—See *Sozomen*, lib. vii. ca. 6. *Theodoret*, lib. v. ca. 16.

Surely both such strained imitations of the preceding Oratory of *Libanius*, the enemy of the Christian cause, as well as the adoption of *Stoical* rigid principles, were, according to the warning of the holy Apostle, (Colossians, ch. ii. ver. 8.) a little too much *after the rudiments of men*, and not after that sincere sound doctrine, which was the glory of the first more simple ages of Christianity, concerning the blessings of the Kingdom of God; and concerning the glories to be revealed hereafter.

existing *British Churches*, by virtue of the encouragement, and authority he professed to receive from *the Pope*, roused the old British Christians, somewhat to enquire into, and to doubt of that sort of authority.

Hence soon proceeded opposition, on their part, and rage and violence on his.*—Whilst our blessed Lord's command to Christians, *that they should love one another*,† was totally forgotten by both; and His holy prophecy, that He came, *not to send peace on earth, but a sword*,‡ was perfectly fulfilled.

The old British Christians, however, had so much fear of God before their eyes; and so much reverence for whomsoever came in His Name; that although they were startled by *Austin's* pretensions of *Superiority*, derived merely from his delegation from the Bishop of Rome, and from his consecration by the Archbishop of *Arles, in France*,§ to be an *Archbishop of the English*; and were startled no less, by what they deemed his superstitious practices, and doctrines; yet they would not be too hastily refractory; but held Councils, to consider whether they should, or should not submit.

Previous to one of these, an *Hermit*, one of their brethren, had given them this advice, and this criterion whereby they might know whether *Austin* really had, or had not, authority from GOD MOST HIGH.—He told them, that *if they found Austin meek, and humble, they should submit to be taught by him;—but if they found he bore himself proudly, they should not regard him.*—And in consequence of this advice, finding that, when they attended the Council which *Austin* had called to claim their subjugation, he neither arose to meet them, nor received them in any brotherly sort; but sat most Pontifically in his chair,—they repelled his claims, remembering the words of the hermit.||

After this, when many calamities had befallen the Antient Britons, and had deprived them of all influence, and ascendancy in England; (a part of which calamities have been imputed to

* Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 2. Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 104.

† John, ch. xiii. ver. 34, 35.

‡ Matthew, ch. x. ver. 34, 35.

§ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ca. 27.

|| Spelman Concil, p. 108.

the instigations of *Austin*, by most of our writers;) *Archbishop Theodore*, one of the best of the Successors of *Austin*,* complying unhappily, from the unavoidable prejudices of his education, with the prevalence of the stream, which tended to set up Popery, introduced A. D. 673, the practice of *auricular Confession to a Priest, as necessary to absolution*.†—A practice, which we may very well believe this great, and honest man, considered as being merely useful to aid the weak, and sincere, in an age when men could neither read or write, or have any means to satisfy religious doubts, and scruples, except verbal instruction:—but which soon became one of the most crafty, and surest means of subjugation, to all weak minds: and especially when coupled with the impudent assertion, afterwards introduced, of a Priest having, in himself, *power to absolve, and pardon sins*.

However, therefore, *Theodore* might only mean to assist the feeble, who stood in need of consolation and comfort, from persons wiser than themselves; he in fact assisted the strong, the domineering power of Rome, to become still stronger; till, in 943, we find it arrived at such an height, that Archbishop *Odo*, in a most magisterial tone, in a *Pastoral Letter*, known by the name of his *Constitutions*, commands the *King*, the *Princes*, and *all in authority, to obey, with great humility, the Archbishops, and Bishops, because they have the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.‡

Soon after this effort of *Theodore*, in 673, to an increased veneration for Relicks, was added the injunction of the necessity of *watchings, and fastings*; which had inadvertently been introduced, with good intentions, about the end of the third century;§—till at length Religion was, by degrees, converted into

* This *St. Austin* died in 641; and ought to be carefully distinguished from *St. Austin*, Bishop of *Hippo*, in Africa, who died in the year 430.

† Egberti Institut. Eccles. p. 281.

‡ Spelm. Concil. Tom. I. p. 416. Wilkin Concil. Vol. I. p. 212.

§ Truly religious, contemplative minds, who had been the first to seek, in retreats from the world, leisure and opportunity for study and meditation, with delight employed hours, and days, in such spiritual pursuits, and in holy worship, and prayer.—But when this, which was the proper exercise and employment for the *secret chamber*,—began to be considered, and enjoined, as a *public exercise*, for the multitude, who became

a sort of magic, and sorcery;—and people learned to carry little relicks of supposed saints about their persons, as *talismans*,—and as *charms* to protect them from the machinations of the devil.—The rage for which sort of witchcraft soon increased to such an height, that few amongst Christians thought they could be safe without this kind of protection.—And at the same time, and with the same sort of spirit, arts of tormenting the body, by means of rough unpleasant garments, and by periodical frequent fastings, and by the denial of refreshing rest and sleep,* became a fashion, which most people were both afraid, and ashamed, not to comply with.†

Recluses, without either ability, or inclination, for abstract contemplation;—and even without curiosity to understand, or apprehend spiritually the contents of the sacred writings,—the whole soon degenerated into painful compliance, tedious observance, and a formality of public worship, by devotees, constantly standing in *open view*, in direct contradiction almost of our blessed Lord's sacred admonition. Matthew, ch. vi. ver. 5 and 6.—Hence to ease the length, and tedious uniformity, of what had become most fatiguing,—(the appointed nocturnal vigils)—St. *Ambrose*, about the year 386, established loud, and regular Psalmody;—and that sort of chaunting, and of making responses, which had been previously, in part, introduced by two laymen, *Flavianus*, and *Diodorus*;—but which, though truly elevating to the mind, and sometimes exciting fervent devotion, did neither promote deep reflection, nor prevent the mischief of monastick sequestration from leading to superstitious pharasaical form, and mere outward observance, and even to the considering the best singer, as the most pious, and the most learned man.—Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. Tom. I. p. 644.—Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 388; and Vol. V. p. 45. Octavo ed.

* See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 99, 104.

† There are some few circumstances very remarkable with regard to the rise, and progress of monastick *austerities*.—For in the first place,—they are related to have been begun by a very rich, zealous, illiterate youth (*Anthony*), in Egypt; who, giving away all his wealth, dwelt, first among tombs, in the lower part of Thebais;—then in a ruined tower;—and then in a solitary island-like spot of herbage, advanced three days journey into the sandy desert; before he finally settled on Mount *Colzino*, near the Red Sea.—See Athanas. Op. Tom. II. p. 450, 505. Vit. St. Anton. p. 452. Vit. Patrum, p. 26, 74. Jerom, Tom. I. p. 248, 249.

And in the next place,—we find both him, and his soon numerous followers, encouraged, and cherished, by the zealous *Athanasius*,—to whom these ascetic hermits afforded secret refuge, and shelter, in the midst of his persecutions;—and whose tenets they thenceforth became the means of spreading diligently, in all parts to which they wandered.—and as, for the sake of adding weight to those tenets, they also maintained the authority of a supposed *visible head* of Christ's holy Church on earth, to which *Athanasius* had, above all others, given rise, and support, by appealing his cause (as two or three others at the same time did) to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome;—they soon became both the

By way, however, of some little relaxation to the mind, in the midst of these severities, was introduced, to keep off utter despair

distinguished favourites, and instruments of Papal Power.—See Jerom, Tom. I. p. 241, 252. Socrates Scholasticus, lib. ii. ca. 11, 13, 18. Cave's Life of St. Athanasius, sec. vi.

Anthony's first introducing his severe austerities, seems evidently to have been, in order to surpass the *antient Priests of Egypt*, in their own way;—for St. Jerom informs us, that they were distinguished for their professed chastity, and practice of abstinence, even to their using horrible potions, to prevent natural desires, as the *Indian Magi* had done;—and also the *Priests of Diana*, amongst the Assyrians.—See Jerom Adver. Jovinian, lib. i. in fine, and lib. ii.—See Alexander ab Alexandro in Genial. Dier. lib. iv. ca. 17, and lib. v. ca. 12.

And as the hasty zeal of an *Egyptian youth*, is said to have given rise to the first monkish severities; so it is not a little remarkable, that some of the subsequent most rigid austerities, and severe restraints of the monastick life, are related to have been further introduced, by *pretending over-wise men*, the *Gnostics*;—and that the *Gnostics*, in general, consisted of persons who had been *Gentiles*.—And it is no less remarkable, that with the same sort of persons originated the *censure of the Old Testament*, and consequently a misapprehension, and neglect of the combination of its sacred contents with those of the *Blessed Gospel*;—substituting, in lieu of a right consideration of the promised *final deliverance* declared in both, an imposed most high regard for the power, and authority, of a present *visible Church*, and of its pretended *visible Head* on earth;—and bringing into neglect, and disgrace, *that* which became to be contemptuously called the doctrine of the *millennium*;—which had been the avowed doctrine of the greater part of the Christians of the three first ages;—and implied, in substance, merely an awful apprehension of a truly perfected holy assemblage of redeemed persons, to be gathered together by CHRIST, OUR LORD, at first in Heaven;—and then, at HIS second coming, to judge the world, and to perfect all things, to be manifested with HIM on earth; according to those sacred words; in John, ch. x. ver. 16. ch. xi. ver. 52.—Ephesians, ch. i. ver. 10.—Colossians, ch. iii. ver. 4.—See Beausobre Histoire de Manicheisme, lib. i. ca. 3. Justin Dial. cum Tryphonte Jud. p. 177, 178; and Dailè de Usu Patrum, lib. iii. ca. 4. See also the account of those who maintained this doctrine, as collected by Burnet, in his History of the Deluge, Vol. II. book iv. ch. vi. p. 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.

In truth, whether the Pagans so hastily converted, and so hastily seeking to be promoted to distinction in the *Christian Church*, in the days of Constantine, were sincere, or insincere, (which the Great Judge of all alone knoweth,) there can remain little doubt, but that most of the austerities which the monks adopted, were introduced by a mistaken ambition, not to be outdone by the rigid Pagan, and Stoic Philosophers.—Even the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* had practised such austerities;—wearing a mean habit;—lying on the bare ground;—fasting;—and abstaining from certain meats:—and the Emperor *Julian* went far beyond him.—And Ammianus Marcellinus, an heathen, and disliking Christianity, could find no more effectual way of expressing his disrespect for the Cynic Philosophers, whom he equally disliked, than that of shewing the evident comparison between them and the monks.—See Universal His. Vol. XV. p. 209. Gibbon's His. Vol. IV. p. 38, 41, 76, 77, 174; Octavo ed.; and Universal His. Vol. XVI. p. 244, 245, 271.

from some, and even to divert others, (what was, in reality, no better than a sort of substitute for more modern Novels, and Romances), a long string of Legendary Tales, of dreams, visions, and inconsistent miracles ;—stories propagated, from time to time, without a blush, by the clergy ;—and believed, without the least doubting, by the timorous well-meaning laity ;—whilst the reading of these wondrous, entertaining, and bewitching narrations, only tended to augment their fears, and to lead them, through fright, to greater austerities, and, to become the greater dupes.*

Then came, most astonishingly, trivial, although in their consequences most serious, observances of ceremonies *at meat* ;—and particularly that of the making the sign of the cross superstitiously, by a proper person, and with the like idea of magical incantation, on dishes at table :—the idea of the imagined utility, and holiness of which, was carried so far, that when *Wilfrid*, the disgraced, though good, Bishop of York, with his adherents, was under the cloud of the censure of the then predominant Church, if he, or any of them ventured to make (out of respect to the usage of the times), the sign of the cross, before meat, upon any of the dishes, at any table where they chanced to be, the dishes were immediately thrown to the dogs.†

The account given, from the best authorities, of the unaffected mode of life, of the grandsons of St. *Jude*, the brother of OUR LORD CHRIST ;—and of their very plain, simple country life,—and of the result of their examination ;—an account adopted even by one of the bitterest, and most blasphemous enemies of Christianity, will sufficiently exculpate the Christian Religion itself, from having afforded any countenance to the austerities, and other *corruptions* of religious monastick Societies.—Gibbon—Vol. II. p. 414. Octavo ed.

* This very strongly appears from many passages in *Bede* ;—and indeed from the whole history of the world.—It is a most remarkable fact ; that both in Pagan, and in Christian times, the ages of savage barbarity, and cruelty, and of idolatrous darkness, have been ages not of boldness, and courage, but of the basest and lowest timidity.—Whoever reads the celebrated *Golden Legend*, (where, it must candidly be confessed, is at the same time much plain, honest, but *gross* instruction, conveyed in a *gross* manner, for the benefit of a *gross* dark age,) will find not only the romantic part, but *even the plain accounts taken from the Gospel*, to be mixed, and stuffed with tales of wonder, and horror ; contrived only to depress the spirits ; and to affrighten weak minds.

† Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. xlvi. p. 76 ; and Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 202. This *Wilfrid*, however, was the man, who having incurred his disgrace, by opposing the decrees of the Councils of *Hartford*, and *Hatfield*, (whereby the innovations we have

Last of all;—and to crown the whole;—by the confirmation of the second Council of Nice, both the use, and the *adoration* of Images was solemnly authorised;* and fixed as a *necessary observance*.—A most complete pattern and imitation of heathen idolatry, notwithstanding a few frivolous distinctions, made by those who introduced it; whilst indeed, those very persons themselves, seem to have been so sensible of what they were doing; that so soon as the time of King Alfred, we find they had both cunning and influence enough, to cause, that in his Code of Laws, in the copy of the Ten Commandments, *the Second Commandment should be omitted*; and that, after the ninth, a short one should be presumptuously added, the injunction whereof was *merely, not to make gods of gold and silver*.†—the artifice of this subterfuge may be easily seen through;—and the prevalence of gross idolatry, in despite of such subterfuge, was so rapid, that in 977, we find even so infamous a trick ventured upon, by Archbishop Dunstan, and his dependants, at Winchester, as that of causing a voice to proceed from a crucifix fixed in a wall; in order to support the cause of the *Regular Monks*, against that of the *Secular Clergy*.‡

just spoken of were authorised;) did yet, in the midst of that disgrace, and consequent retirement, first convert the Saxon inhabitants of Sussex, and of the Isle of Wight, to Christianity. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 13, 14.

On his arrival amongst them, he found them afflicted with a most dreadful famine;—and took that opportunity to teach them the art of fishing, with which they were before utterly unacquainted;—for though their sea and rivers abounded with fish, they had not skill to catch any, except a few eels.—Having won the affection of the Islanders, by affording them this relief, and teaching them this new art, *Wilfrid* was listened to (says Bede) with willingness; and the country embraced Christianity.

He was also the man, who, with *Benedict Biscop*, first introduced, and restored, in those dark ages, the art of good masonry from Rome, about 674, long after that art, once so well known to the Britons, (as has been mentioned in Vol. III. p. 47) was lost. Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. xxii. and Bedæ Hist. Abbat Weremuthen.

However therefore he might have undeservedly incurred the displeasure of the over-zealous, by opposing their decrees; or even deservedly of *Alfred*, King of Northumberland, by his tenacious desire of maintaining claims to his once immense possessions, as sole Bishop of the Northumbrians; his name and remembrance surely ought to be had in honor. Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. xliii. xliv.

* See Du Pin Eccles. Hist. cent. viii.

† This is fairly represented, and placed in its right light, in Henry's History of Great Britain, Vol. III. p. 251.

‡ Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 490.

An imposition of so gross a kind as Image Worship, so contrary to the whole tenor of the Holy Scriptures, and of the true spirit of the Gospel, could not be introduced, even in days of darkness, and ignorant timidity, without the opposition of some few considerate minds.

We find, therefore, that great man, *Charlemagne*, doubting; and putting the Decrees of this second Council of Nice, into the hands of those Bishops whom he thought to be the best informed, to deliberate about them: and, in consequence of their advice, we find him at last openly and honestly condemning this worship of Images, in those published Acts, and Declarations, which are now called the *Caroline Books*.*

Perhaps to a constant habit of such honest boldness it was that he owed his greatness.

His friend *Offa*, also, King of Mercia in England, having received a copy of these Declarations; and of the Canons of Nice; in like manner opposed those Canons, and that worship of Images.†

Consistently, therefore, with the account that has been already given in other respects, of the earliest English Monasteries, we find, that even at the end of the eighth century, they were not arrived at such a degree of folly, and impiety, as to worship, without scruple, and in defiance of the second Commandment, such *carved likenesses*.

The opposition of *Offa* is the more remarkable; because (as we shall find more particularly hereafter) he did fall into the snare concerning *Relicks*,‡ which was nearly as gross.

Such were the corruptions, and impositions introduced:— and when the matter is fairly analyzed, all these impositions will perhaps appear to have been merely the effect of the ambition, and impudence of a few proud, ignorant, and conceited men, contending, through envy, to obtain that influence with the unguarded well-meaning multitude; and that esteem and respect, which they discerned the first sincere, pious preachers of

* Du Pin Eccles. His. cent. viii.

† M. Westminster ad Ann. 793.

‡ M. Paris Vita Offæ, p. 26. Wm. Malms. lib. i. ca. 4.

Christianity had obtained, by their acknowledged usefulness to the world.*

A little further detail, before we examine the Religious Structures of Saxon times, will be useful to elucidate the more fully the state of mankind, in that period:—a right apprehension of

* The mistaking all these numerous innovations, and impositions, which were become so blended with the profession of Christianity, *for Christianity itself*; was what gave occasion, in these latter ages, to *Voltaire*, and *Gibbon*, and to some other writers, to blaspheme; and to reproach that HOLY NAME, by the which we are called—And was indeed obviously *what* first gave rise to all the horrid and blasphemous excesses of the authors of the Revolution in the French Nation;—that dreadful scourge which came at last upon the abettors of these impositions.

How greatly ought we, in this country, to revere, and honour the memory of those excellent, and good men, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, and their fellow sufferers;—who instead of running into such mistakes, and excesses; did, as truly meek, and humble followers of their great Lord, and Master, the Revealer, and Maintainer of all truth, patiently suffer, and lay down their lives to open the eyes of their countrymen, and brethren;—and to deliver this land from such bondage of error?

And how careful should we be, never to fall into it again;—or to forget how dearly the free light, and support of the truth of God's Word has been purchased, by such faithful hardy endurance of true martyrs of Christ, even unto death?—How careful should we be, to avoid *confounding of things, names, and characters*?—The doing of which was one main root of the whole evil.

Surely there is nothing so astonishing upon the face of the earth, as that the blessed Light of the Gospel, and the interesting truths of Christianity, should *so soon* have been mistaken, and corrupted; or that the error should have continued *so long* inveterate.

If it had not been positively foretold, in that holy Gospel itself; and by the mouth of the first Apostles, speaking prophetically, by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit from on high, such an idea of mischief could neither have been credited at first, nor apprehended at last.

Perhaps most plainly the truth is,—that, after all that can be said, or recorded in History, the great corruptions either of Religion, or Civil Government, are not so much to be imputed to those men who introduced either particular opinions, or observances leading to such corruptions; or to those who made alterations in civil establishments; as to the perverseness, blindness, stupidity, and depravity of the bulk of mankind in general;—whose errors and blindness have, from age to age, always been carefully increased still more, by the artifices, and craft, of the great enemy of mankind.

What even devout, good men at first intended merely for the increase of devotion; and as elucidations of sublime spiritual ideas; was soon perverted to the purposes of superstition.—And what very honest men intended for the support of good government; or for the maintainance of liberty, and property; was as soon equally perverted either to the introduction and support of tyranny; or to the giving encouragement to rebellion, and anarchy.—May the time be hastened, when it shall please Almighty God finally and effectually to remove the mist of darkness, that occasions all this confusion.

which is somewhat needful, in order to comprehend with perspicuity, several odd particularities that occur in those buildings.

Mercia, and *Northumberland*, had been instructed by *Columba's* pupils.

But *Kent*, and *Wessex*, had been instructed by the missionaries attending, and succeeding *Austin*, from Rome, and France.

Hence arose a strange, but a most violent hot dispute, in the year 664, concerning the exact time of keeping Easter.*—A dispute about a mere difference of two or three days,—namely, whether it should be the first Sunday after the thirteenth, or after the fourteenth day of the first moon after the Vernal Equinox:—which difference might chance to make a week's difference in celebrating a memorial.—A juggling Chaldæan, or Persian Astrologer, could not have contrived a more trifling bone of contention,—in the true spirit of sorcery, and magic.—Yet did this difference occasion much persecution; and cause the death of many a good man, on both sides.—Whilst one party referred to the practice of *St. John*; and the other to that of *St. Peter*;†—both of them Holy Disciples, who, whilst they used such different modes of shewing respect to the memory of their Lord, and to the prophetical types of the Law, had both taught, and maintained the superior duty of loving one another.

* The first origin of the controversy about Easter, (Eusebius informs us, lib. v. ca. 21, 22, 23, 24) was, that *St. John*, and other Holy Apostles, and holy men in *Asia-Minor*, observed the high feast of memorial, according to the original institution of the celebration of the *Paschal Lamb*, the type of OUR LORD, on the fourteenth day of the month;—whereas other Churches throughout the world observed the feast on the Sunday after the fourteenth day:—and this latter mode of observance, was fixed upon by *Victor*, Bishop of Rome, about the year A. D. 200, and confirmed by the Council of Nice, (Socrates Scholasticus, lib. i. ca. 5).—Afterwards, however, Bede informs us, (lib. iii. ca. 25, 26) that, in the year 664, a still further distinction arose; whether it should be observed on the Sunday after the fourteenth; or on the Sunday after the thirteenth day of the month: and, in truth, this latter controversy occasioned still more animosity than the former.—An astronomer, however, will easily perceive, that, (after the first departure from the original fourteenth day), neither the one nor the other of the disputants would hardly ever be right, even according to their own intended ideas;—and a good Christian will easily perceive, with Socrates Scholasticus, (lib. v. ca. 21) that such controversies, as to the observance of days, were contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, and to the advice of the Holy Apostle. Galatians, ch. 4. ver. 10. Coloss. ch. ii. ver. 16.

† Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. Ib. ca. 25 and 26.

About A. D. 816, superstitious observances of all kinds were arrived at such an height, approaching even to a species of magical incantation, that, by a solemn Council, held in the presence of *Kenulph*, King of Mercia, it was ordained, that on the death of a Bishop, upon the sounding of a bell, as a signal, the inhabitants of every parish in his diocese, should assemble, and say *thirty psalms, for the soul of the deceased*;—that they should fast one day;—and that for thirty days together, after divine service each day, seven *belts of Pater Nosters* should be sung for him.—(that is, as many Pater Nosters as would tell the strings of beads, or studs, seven times over).—And to all this was added, that his surviving brother Bishops, and Abbots, should each one cause six hundred psalms to be sung, and one hundred and twenty masses to be said; for his repose.—And that each one should set at liberty three slaves; besides the manumission of all the English slaves of the deceased.*

Little sincere spirit of prayer could attend such a bead-roll of *Pater Nosters*.—And accordingly we find a curious piece of advice, (solemnly given in a Canon of the Council of *Gloveshoos*, 747,) had mighty well prepared the way for such sort of mummary.—For it declares, that as prayers were to be said in an unknown language, so persons might affix *any meaning* to the words they pleased, in their own minds.†

Thus did prayers, and singing of psalms become, by degrees, to be considered only as a sort of powerful *charms*:—and the exercises of religion, to be nearly turned into a sort of *sorceries*.

And hence, in King *Athelstan's* time, in 928, by the 12th Canon of the Council at *Gratanlea*, it was solemnly ordained, with great loyalty, and pious zeal, that *fifty psalms should be sung for the King, in every Monastery and Cathedral Church,‡ every Friday*.

This turn having been given to *prayer*, and singing of psalms; so the same turn was given to humiliation, mortification, and *fasting*, directly in opposition to the advice and injunction of our blessed Lord.§—For *Long fastings, even of several years, were*

* See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 328.

† Ib. p. 246. Revelations, ch. ix. ver. 21. ch. xviii. ver. 23.

‡ Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 402.

§ Matt. ch. vi. ver. 16, 17, 18.

enjoined.—But, in truth, these were not so difficult to be performed *catholically*, as one would be apt to think, from the first apparently dreadful idea.—For a year's fasting might be redeemed for thirty shillings:—and a rich man, of rank, and power, who had numerous dependants to perform fasting *for him*, might dispatch *even a seven year's fast*, in nearly three days; by procuring 840 men* to submit to the mortification for that short time, whilst he himself added the observance of a very little abstinence.

To the exceeding superstitious regard that was had to Relicks of supposed Saints, easily succeeded, by degrees, a veneration for the *bodies of deceased Prelates* of the Church, as they died, from time to time:—which both gratified the ambition, and vanity of the living; and tended to maintain the superiority and power of *the Pope*, from whom the *Archbishops* received the important *Pall*.

This reverential idea quickly augmented to such a degree; that *St. Austin's Monastery*, without the walls of Canterbury, where *he*, and his successors in the See of Canterbury were buried, having obtained an envied pre-eminence in the eyes of the blind multitude, on that account,† the Canons of Christ

* Spelman. Concil. Tom. I. p. 443, 478.

† There is a very curious representation, in the Monasticon, (p. 24.), of the manner in which the shrines, containing the bones of the Archbishops, were placed, together with those of *St. Augustin*, round the high altar of the Church of *St. Augustin's Monastery*.—It is taken from an antient Manuscript in Trinity College Library.—Among the shrines we find those of the good Archbishops *Honorius*, and *Theodore*.—And in the antient Inscription on the original Drawing, we have an evident proof, how *gradual* the progress of superstition, as to the enshrining of bodies was in this country.—For even the body of *St. Augustin* was first buried decently in common ground, at some little distance from the Church;—where it lay for seven years.—It was then removed into the Church, and simply entombed in the north portico;—where it lay for four hundred and seventy-eight years.—And it was not till even the year 1091, in the reign of *William Rufus*, that it was, by Abbot *Wido*, and by *Gundulph*, Bishop of *Rochester*, translated, and placed in a shrine, above the high altar.

It is deserving of notice also, that as Bishop *Gundulph* was the means of placing them in this dignified situation; and as the bodies of several succeeding Archbishops, were in like manner placed in shrines on each side;—so the bones of *Gundulph* himself, and of several succeeding Bishops of *Rochester*, were placed on each side the high altar there:—and their stone coffins, or chests, still remain standing above ground, on the floor, on each side of the present altar.

Church in Canterbury, and the succeeding Archbishops, their fast friends, because they had been elected *by them*, according to the original privilege of that monastery, became eager to deprive those neighbouring monks of this advantage.

Archbishop *Cuthbert*, therefore, who died in 758, even formed the design of wresting from them his own remains.—And having first obtained a formal permission from *Eadbert*, King of Kent, to be buried in his own Cathedral; when he found his end approaching, he gave direction to his domesticks to put his body into the grave, as soon as he expired: which they carefully performed. And we are told, that the monks of St. Austin, coming, according to antient usage, in solemn procession, to take possession of the corpse, were filled with most ungovernable rage.*

In 762, Archbishop *Bregwin*, who sat in the chair only three years, was by his own direction buried in the same precipitate manner.†—And if they were not both of them hurried out of the world, and buried alive, they had great escapes; at least according to the philosophical ideas of more modern times.

Every monastery now became ambitious to hold the bones of some distinguished *modern Ecclesiastic*, besides the Relicks of Saints;—or at least the bones of some great men, however great sinners, who were but distinguished for their high rank; and who were in return told, and made to believe, that the becoming monks,‡ and the being buried in sacred ground, and especially in a monk's habit, was a passport to heaven.

Convinced sinners easily complied.—And the mouldering bones of Saints, or at least those substituted for the bones of Saints, bore so high a price; that at last, in A. D. 1021, an arm of *St. Augustin*, Bishop of Hippo, was purchased by *Agelnoth*, Archbishop of Canterbury, for six thousand pounds weight of silver, and sixty pounds weight of gold.‡

Soon therefore, with all these privileges, and advantages, Mo-

* Godwin de Præsul. Angl. p. 65.

† Theod. Capit. Labb. Concil. Tom. VI. col. 1875.

‡ Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 11.

nasteries became every where of too much importance to the Church of Rome, and to the support of its interests, and pretensions, to be trusted any longer in the hands of Laymen.

We find therefore that such were no longer *allowed* to preside over Societies, which they or their ancestors had formed, and founded; and over which they had, in succession, presided for a series of years;—and that, by a decree of Pope *Leo III.* in 803, confirmed by *Kenulph*, King of Mercia, and his Council, all *Laymen* were thenceforth forbidden to be admitted to the government of such Societies.*—In the letter which the Pope, on this occasion, addressed to *Kenulph*, he calls the King his most *sweet Son*, and tells him, that Archbishop *Athelard*, who had obtained, and was the bearer of the decree, was such an admirable Prelate; that he was able to bring all the souls in his province from the very bottom of hell, into the port of heaven.*

The inhabitants of the monasteries also, and as many as possible of the whole body of the clergy, were soon led to embrace *vows of celibacy*, in order to detach them the more from the common interests of the other members of the community.

And, to crown the whole, the most excessive abomination of all abominations, *Image Worship*, was finally strongly confirmed, and fastly rivetted in England, before the year 1000;—whether the charters alledged, as supporting the assertion concerning the first introduction of the *Image of the Virgin Mary* be true or false.

Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, is said to have been the Prelate who first introduced this last, worst innovation, very nearly about the year 700.†—However, if it was really introduced so early, yet it appears clearly enough, that it was opposed, for a time, by the old British Church.†—And did not gain its full ascendancy, till about A. D. 1000.

By such means as these,—to say nothing of the pains taken by the clergy, and Church of Rome, to *lock up the Holy Scriptures* from the people at large,—and to cause prayers to be said in an *unknown tongue*,—and to palm upon the world the doctrine of

* Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 322.

† See Spel. Conc. Tom. I. p. 305; and Hume, Vol. I. p. 45.

transubstantiation, the good intentions both of the first *British*, and of the first *Saxon* Christians, were much frustrated. And, instead of praying from the heart, to GOD, through the mediation of the ONE ONLY MEDIATOR, named in Scripture;—men mumbling repeated invocations, to the Virgin Mary, and to Saints, did soon produce in the tenth century, (that *Age of Lead*,* as it has been sometimes called), the most dismal, dark, long night of ignorance, and superstition, that ever took place in the world.

The doctrine of *transubstantiation* having been opposed by *Johannes Scotus*, in the time of King *Alfred*, did not gain much ground amongst the English clergy, till after the year 995.† and the burning of honest men for not believing it, was reserved for the completion of abomination,—in ages long after.

Nor was the praying to the Virgin Mary made a matter of avowed doctrine, in the time either of King *Alfred*, or King *Athelstan*, or even in the time of *Edgar*, or of *Ethelred II.*; as appears both from Odo's Constitutions, A. D. 943,—and also from the Homilies which were translated by Archbishop *Alfric*, about A. D. 979.‡

So far also was the Church from locking up the Holy Scriptures, in an unknown tongue, in the first Saxon days, that a translation of the Bible was made into the *Saxon Language*, in the reign of King *Athelstan*, A. D. 930.§

After this little detail of the state of Religion, let us now turn our attention to examine precisely what advancement was made by the Saxons in point of Ecclesiastical Architecture.

About A. D. 816, the building of *Parish Churches*, was become so very frequent in England; that at the Council of *Ceale-hythe*, a Canon was framed, prescribing a precise manner of consecrating them; by means of placing Relicks, and the Eucharist in the

* Baron Annal. ad an. 900. Cave's Histor. Literar. p. 571.

† This clearly appears from the Homily of Archbishop *Ælfric* for Easter Sunday.—See *Ælfrici Prefatio secunda ad Grammaticam suam*, p. 2.—and *Hickes's Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 98. See also G. Malmesb.

‡ See also *Rapin's History*, Vol. I. p. 428; Vol. II. p. 121.

§ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 374.

altar; and by putting up a picture of the Saint to whom each Church was dedicated.*

A peculiar circumstance also soon increased still more the number of these, detached, Religious Structures.—This was; the plunder and destruction of the first *Saxon* Monasteries by the *Danes*; and the consequent dispersion of such monastick clergy as escaped being murdered.—Whilst the habit of a married life, which those Clergy, after such *dispersion*, soon began to adopt, added to the number of *constantly resident Parochial Priests*.†

So early as the year 901, the marauding visits of the *Danes* became almost regularly annual;—and the whole history of this country, during the tenth century, contains only an horrid series of Accounts of their descents, and ravages: in the midst of which they got possession of the Isle of Thanet;‡—a possession that they maintained several years:—but where, however, it is most remarkable, they never formed any of those sort of *artificial mounts*, and *hill fortresses*; that in many places have too hastily been ascribed to the *Danes*,§ and have been supposed peculiar to that people.

By the year 981, their plunderings, and devastations, were come to their full height:—and they became, at one and the same time, most dreadful scourges to a corrupted Church, that was introducing the grossest superstition;—and avengers on a land polluted with the blood of the innocent King *Edward*, by the murder of whom, the celebrated, and abandoned *Elfrida* had caused her son *Ethelred* to ascend the *Saxon* throne.||

Even *Alphage*, Archbishop of Canterbury, about 1003, with almost all his clergy, were slain in cold blood, by these Danish violators of all that was sacred.¶

* Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 328.

† Junett's Church History, ch. xvii. It appears from Ælfric's Canons, that the clergy in general were *married men*, about 995. See Henry's History, Vol. III. p. 287.

‡ Chron. Saxon, p. 76.

§ There cannot be a stronger proof than this, that such kind of fortresses were never constructed, or formed, by the *Danes*.—See what has been already said, on this subject; *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. I. p. 37, 53.

|| Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 9.

¶ See the account of the means by which these horrid ravages took place. Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 10.

But whilst we lament their sufferings, it is impossible to forget the priestly impudence, and cruelty, whereby King *Edwy* had been, by Archbishop *Dunstan*, (the great promoter and supporter of the *celibacy* of Monks,) cruelly torn from his wife *Elgiva*;^{*} merely because she was his *Cousin*;—and by which she had been even defaced, and branded with hot irons,[†]—and was at last put to death.

Besides the increase of the number of *Parish Churches*, that was consequent upon the ravages of the Danes;—when they at last obtained dominion here, and acquired civilization, by their success,—King *Canute*, who was well worthy to be a Successor of *Alfred*, added still more to the number of Parochial Places of Worship, by building many, as well as Religious Houses, at places that had been signalized by battles with the Saxons:—and, in consequence of the improvement of his architectural knowledge, by means of his journey to Rome, added to the reflections of his own great mind, introduced a somewhat more improved species of Architecture than the old *Saxon* style.

The journey to Rome he undertook, with great devotion, according to the ideas of Religion that prevailed in those times; and he obtained there, as his great object, according to the account of our early historians, § a plenary pardon of his sins; and, (as he was told), the special friendship of St. *Peter*.—Whilst, as he took with him a numerous, and splendid train of nobility; he obtained, also, unavoidably, even a diffusion of a better taste, in point of Architecture, amongst them, than had hitherto prevailed in any of these more northern barbarous regions.

Before, however, we examine either *Canute's* improvements, or the first *Saxon Ecclesiastical Structures*, a little further attention ought to be paid to the strange rude manners, and the gross ideas, that were prevalent in the age wherein those structures were reared.

Alfred the Great, after his first and suprising victories over

* Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ca. 7.

+ Anglia Sacra, lib. ii. p. 84.

† Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11.

§ Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11.

the marauding Danes, *obliged* all that were left of those plundering pirates, to become converts, and to embrace Christianity;* without much more information than that of the necessity of their situation.†—Common sense will then teach us, what must be thought either of the apprehension, or judgment, of such converts.—They must have been readily a prey to the most servile superstition, when they did not apostatize, as was the case with many.‡

Alfred, also, finding the excessive ignorance of the officiating Clergy left in Britain, was induced to bring *Monks*, a little better instructed than those clergy, from France;§ in order to restore the ruined Monasteries;—and we may boldly venture to say, whatever classical science, or ingenuity, they brought with them, that they brought also additional superstitious usages.

Such is the wretched account of the state both of Religion, and of its most zealous supporters, in the latter days, in which the Religious *Saxon* Architecture we are about to consider appeared.

Not only did blind superstition gain ground; but outrage, and violence, from the lowest to the highest, prevailed amongst uninstructed, and untameable spirits.

Depredation was even deemed highly honourable.—And we find regular laws for the dividing of plunder that might be taken from bordering people.||

We find, also, a regular Book of Rates, for the estimation of wounds, and bruises, in frays at home.¶

And, by an express Law, in Wales,** (where the laws very

* The Saxon Chronicle, a book of the best authority, says, p. 85, 86, they settled in East Anglia, and Northumberland.—See also Asser, (p. 9 and 12,) and it is a curious fact, shewing how wonderfully Divine Providence brought forth good out of evil, that these very people became the means of enabling *Alfred* to form a fleet, and to establish a great naval defence, by the help of their skill in navigation; and laid the first foundation for *naval power* in England.—Will. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 4.

† Asserius de Vita *Elfredi*, p. 10.

‡ Henry's History of England, Vol. III. p. 259.

§ Asserius de Vita *Elfredi*, p. 18.

|| Wilkins *Leges Saxon.* p. 16: and so also see *Leges Wallicæ*, p. 17.

¶ Wilkins *Leges Saxon.* p. 5, 6, 7.—*Leges Wallicæ*, p. 186.

** *Leges Wallicæ*, p. 387.

• closely imitated those of the English), a man was gravely *permitted* to beat his wife.

We find even the oaths of persons estimated also, as to their weight in courts of judicature, not from the apparent integrity of the person; but from his rank.—So that the oath of *one Thane*, was deemed, in point of weight of evidence, equivalent to that of *six Ceorls*, or common men, however honestly, and sincerely such might speak.*

A great number of the inferior class, were also *actual slaves*.—And a regular *slave-trade* was carried on, from England, to the Saracens in Spain, and in Africa, by Jews.†

In consequence of this savage state of manners, and ideas, we find, even with regard to the conduct of Princes themselves, horrid tales, almost of an incredible kind.

In 626, *Quicelm*, King of the West Saxons, sent a formal Ambassador, to *Edwin*, King of the Anglo Saxons, (who was one of the best informed, and best disposed of all that savage hord), with no other view, than to kill him, with a poisoned dagger:—from which attempt *Edwin* was preserved, only by the faithful quick interference of one of his attendant train, who received the blow, and perished in his stead.‡

Even so late as 948, King *Edmund*, endeavouring with his own hand, to enforce the maintainance of justice, and to apprehend a notorious robber, who had the audacity to come into his Sovereign's presence at a feast, was slain by the daring villain,§ in the presence of his courtiers.

About 760, *Ethelbert*, King of the East Angles, having been induced to solicit in marriage *Elfrida*, (a cursed name,) the daughter of *Offa*, King of Mercia, was invited, with his retinue, by *Offa*, to *Hereford*, in order to solemnize the nuptials:—and, in the midst of the joy, and festivity of the entertainments, was seized, and secretly beheaded:—after which *Offa* (*the very founder of St.*

* Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 64.

† Murator. Antiq. Tom. II. p. 883; and Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 1.

‡ Bedæ Historia Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 9.

§ Wm. Malmsb. lib. ii. ch. 7. Hen. Hunt. lib. 5.

Alban's Monastery) seized his kingdom.*—An instance of the most atrocious wickedness, and cruelty, which cannot be forgotten, however truly penitent, and pious, *Offa* might become afterwards.

Nearly about A. D. 800, *Kenulph*, an horrid Successor of *Offa*, having waged war against Kent; and having taken its *then* King, *Egbert*, prisoner; cut off his hands, and put out his eyes; and left his own brother in possession of the crown of that kingdom.—*Kenulph* was deservedly soon killed in an insurrection of the East Angles: and his son, as if suffering by vengeance from heaven, for the sins of his father, was murdered by his own sister† *Quendreda*.

With regard to the lower classes of life, it is curious to observe, that, about the time of *Edgar*, it was deemed a mark of censurable luxury, that the Danes who were kept in pay by *Athelstan*, and by *Edgar*, *combed their hair* once a day;—bathed themselves once a week;—and changed their clothes frequently.‡

And the very slight manner in which the most dreadful outrages were viewed, appears both from a strange Law of *Ethelbert's*, that any one who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife, should merely pay him a fine; and *buy him another wife*;§—and also from the punishment ordained for murder itself; it being usually only a fine; according to *the rank* of the person murdered.||

The manner, also, in which people, in the middle classes of life, were driven to seek security, in the earliest Saxon ages, is equally curious;—whilst they were compelled, either to submit themselves, *as mere vassals*, under the protection of some great man;¶ or else to enter into formal *bonds* to each other, for mutual defence.

A specimen of a most curious *Saxon bond* of this kind, entered into by some inhabitants of Cambridgeshire, is preserved by Dr. *Hickes*. **

* Brompton, p. 750, 751, 752.

† Ingulph, p. 6, 7; and Brompton, p. 776.

‡ Wallingford, p. 547.

§ LL. Ethelberti. sec. 32.

|| LL. Elthredi apud Wilkins, p. 71, 72, 110.

¶ Brady's Treatise of Boroughs, p. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10.

** See his Dissert. Epist. p. 21.

It was not till the time of that excellent, and truly great man, *Alfred*, that legislation in this country, and the protection of personal safety, and property, began to be put at all upon a better footing.

Such minds could not but be open to all kinds of superstition:—and accordingly various kinds of *ordeal* were used, to determine whether persons were guilty, or not guilty;—both in this country, and in France, and in Spain;—and even to determine other facts;—insomuch that we read of the disputed merit of *two Liturgies* (the Roman, and the Muzarabick,) having been solemnly tried, A. D. 891, by having them both flung into the fire, and by observing which would endure longest, or best escape.*

The volume of the Holy Scriptures also was converted into a sort of fortune-telling book,—by a practice which the Monks authorized, especially in France, of having recourse to what was called the *Sortes Sanctorum*:—that is, by the opening, with great ceremony, some page at hazard, and seeing what was written in the first verse.—An usage introduced, in imitation of the pagan custom of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*: and which had in vain been attempted to be suppressed in the world, by a capitulary of *Charlemagne's*, A. D. 789.†—Whilst we find, from assured authority, that it remained in use, in England, till after the days of *William Rufus*;‡—though it seems to have been introduced here, only about the latter end of the *Saxon* monarchy.

Amongst these rude manners, it deserves some notice also, that in the provisions made, by the *then* existing Laws of the Land, in order to maintain general protection for such persons as were *expected* to attend the *Great Council* of the whole Nation; there was an express clause inserted most cautiously, for the purpose of insuring safety and protection on their journey, to such persons as were *notorious Thieves*:§ without its being thought any glaring absurdity, that those who answered *such description*, should have

* Henault, Vol. I. p. 78.

+ Henault, Vol. I. p. 64.

‡ See Prideaux's Connection, and the Authorities cited by him, Vol. III. p. 464, octavo ed. where a most curious instance is produced, that will be mentioned on another occasion.

§ See Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 146.

either the right, or the presumption, to appear at so solemn an assembly.

About 978, *Edgar*, demanding a tribute from the Princes of Wales, whom he had rendered subject to him, devised that strange assessment, of three hundred wolves heads, yearly: which was at once flattering to their pursuits of the chase; and became the happy means of extirpating totally that dreadful race of animals from this Island.*

About A. D. 1015, or 1020, *Edric Streon*, the brother-in-law of King *Ethelred*, invited two of the most potent, and wealthy Saxon Earls, *Sugfert* and *Morcar*, to a feast; where they were, by his directions, cruelly murdered.—Their attendants, after making an ineffectual attempt to avenge the death of their masters, took shelter in a church; but were therein burnt to death.†—And it soon appeared that even King *Ethelred* himself was privy, and assenting to these base, and barbarous proceedings:—for he confiscated the effects of the two unhappy noblemen; and forced the young and beautiful widow of Earl *Sugfert* into a monastery.

Amidst all the horrors of these times, however, as there were some dawning efforts of civilization, amongst those who fled from the dire din of violence, into sequestered *monastick retreats*, so also there were a few astonishing efforts of great minds, notwithstanding their utmost exertions of arms, to recall mankind to an observance of justice, and of the holy eternal laws of righteousness.

Hence several regulations, and ordinances, were framed by degrees;—though with great brevity;—and so as to be *gotten by heart*;—because very few persons were acquainted with letters;—for such was the excessive ignorance, in the ninth century, and even some time after, that neither Kings, Princes, or Lords, in any part of Europe, were, in general, able to read.‡

And this first mode of ordaining principles of justice, *to be learned by rote*, was the real origin of the distinction, between what Lord Chief Justice Hales calls *written*,§ and *unwritten Laws*;—

* Floren. Wigorn. A. D. 973.

† Chron. Saxon. p. 146.

‡ See Henault, Vol. I. p. 132.

§ Hale's History of Common Law, p. 1 and 2.

or between the original Common Law, and the Statute Law of England.

These kind of laws were, by degrees, brought in their effect, to restrain violence insensibly, more and more:—and it was by a Law of *Ina*, King of *Wessex*, that the offence of theft was now, for the first time, made capital; retaining however a discretionary power of redemption,* by fine.

But amongst the most decided efforts towards real civilization, may be reckoned surely those of King *Egbert*;—followed, in the end, by his uniting all the *Saxon* Kingdoms in one great mass of power, in the year 828.

Having been, in the early part of his life, by the persecution of *Brithric*, King of *Wessex*, obliged to fly from his native country, and to take refuge in the court of *Charlemagne*; he seems there to have acquired those improvements of mind, and that disposition for the encouragement of useful Artists, and of men of abilities, which laid the foundation of his future greatness; and rendered him, as far as can be judged from events,† the best politician, and the greatest general of the age in which he lived.

The first years of his reign he employed, in gaining the affections of his subjects, by the introduction of new works of art, and by efforts of civilization.‡—And his fear of God, and earnest endeavours, amidst all his errors and infirmities, to act, if possible in such days, honestly, and righteously, appears, in that he was not the aggressor, in any of those very wars, which terminated in the reduction of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy to his obedience.§

Above all other efforts, however, of the greatest and most active characters, in dark depressed ages, may be reckoned those of King *Alfred*, about A. D. 880.

Having subdued the Danes, the then dire enemies of his country, and put an end to their most horrid devastations; instead of avenging himself, by their death, he availed himself of the only

* Wilkins Leges Wallicæ. p. 17.

† Wm. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 1.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 69.

§ Chron. Saxon. p. 70.—Hen. Hunt. lib. iv.

good property that belonged to them, their *skill in navigation*,* he spared their lives, on condition of their becoming Christians, and exercising their nautical abilities in his service:—and by that means he formed a navy at once, capable of protecting his coasts. —He utterly changed the form of his ships: and, instead of the short, broad, low vessels, which were till that time in use,+ he contrived ships twice as long; more lofty; and having even sixty oars.

He found means to send navigators to explore the seas, and coasts of Europe, far to the north, and far to the south; of which we have a curious instance in *Ochter's Voyage*.‡—And he even sent persons to the East Indies,—with alms to some Christians, who he heard were there; on what we now call the Coromandel Coast.§

He encouraged curious works of jewelry; (of which one specimen even still remains, that was found at *Ethelingey*, in Somersetshire;)||—and by aid of the instructions of those artists whom he encouraged, the goldsmiths in England arrived at such a degree of excellence, beyond all others, in making curious little boxes, or caskets, for enclosing relicks, that these in general acquired the name, in the rest of Europe, of *Opera Anglica*, by way of eminent distinction.¶

* W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 4.—Asser, p. 9.

+ W. Malms. lib. i. ca. 1.—Chron. Saxon. p. 98.

‡ See a fragment of this Voyage, accurately translated from the Saxon, in Henry's curious History, Vol. IV. p. 213.—And see, Vita Ælfredi, Append. vi. p. 205; and Anderson's History of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 386.

§ Asser, p. 17.

|| See Philos. Trans. No. 247;—and Asser, p. 17;—and W. Malms. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. lib. ii.

¶ Murator. Antiq. Tom. V. p. 12. And perhaps we ought to bring to remembrance, on this occasion, that in the village of *Colwall*, in *Herefordshire*, a few years ago, was dug up, by a poor cottager, a coronet adorned with diamonds; which was first sold by him, for 31*l.*;—then by the purchaser for 250*l.*;—and afterwards for 1500*l.*;—and was perhaps worth more.—Description of England, Vol. IV. p. 223.

Not far from *Rendlesham*, in *Suffolk*, also, where originally *Redwald*, King of the East Anglians, is said to have kept his court, was dug up, about fifty or sixty years ago, an antient crown of gold, weighing about sixty ounces.—Description of England, Vol. VIII. p. 267.

And a gold chain, with eighteen large beads on it, and having a locket, quartered cross-ways, by four scepters, was dug up at *Bucton Castle*, a Saxon entrenchment, in *Cheshire*, a few years ago. See Archæologia, Vol. V. p. 88.

He taught the studious, and diligent, also to divide their time regularly, by the gradual burning of tapers; long before the invention of clocks.

In the art of war, he not only, by his own invention, improved the mode of building ships:—but, in the field of war, he seems to have been the *first Saxon*, who devised means of regularly blockading fortresses, and of carrying on any long, and continued siege.*

He improved Architecture, both by his own genius, and the assistance of the learned, and ingenious *Grimbald*,—whom he had brought from Rome;—and who may well be called the Father of Arts, and of Science, at *Oxford*.

And he cultivated Music, after the example of Bishop *Aldhelm*, as a means of conveying sacred instruction.†

Whilst the harp, in the performing upon which he was himself skilled, and which had become, in that age, a necessary appendage‡ to every person of rank; and the organ, (which is said to have been invented so early as A. D. 690,) and had been introduced into England,§ gave him an opportunity of effecting this with advantage.

* Chron. Saxon. p. 95.

+ Anglia Sacra. Tom. II. p. 4.

‡ Leges Wallie, p. 301, 415. Hickessii Gram. Franko-Theotesca, p. 96.

§ Murator. Antiq. Tom. II. p. 358.—W. Malms. de Pontificibus, lib. v.—Two laymen, *Flavianus*, and *Diodorus*, having first brought into use a custom of chaunting psalms, and responses, St. *Ambrose*, about A. D. 386, established loud and regular Psalmody, as has been already mentioned (p. 45).

And this taste for Psalmody was still more increased, in the ninth century, (the very century in which *Alfred* lived,) by the introducing of organs;—"whose pipes of copper, (says an old writer of that age, Hist. Ramseen, p. 420.) "being winded by bellows, and "furnished with proper stops, and keys, sent forth a most loud and ravishing music, "that was heard at a great distance."

But we are not to conceive, that these organs were of the same magnificent kind with those which we have now in so many of our churches.—The very mention of the pipes of copper, in the words of the antient writer just cited, shews that they consisted of little more than the front ostensible pipes; and those of no great dimensions; and that great pipes of wood, such as are now used, were unknown.—Perhaps the best idea that can be formed of the original organs, may be obtained from that small very antient one, that was still remaining, a very few years ago, in the old chapel, at *Knowle*, in Kent; the seat of the Duke of Dorset; where it had, most probably, been placed by Archbishop *Bourchier*, who first built that noble pile.—This little organ seems to have been one of those kind of instruments which were afterwards called *regalls*.—Its whole front, which contained nearly all the pipes, was hardly more than three feet square, if so much; and it

Having well considered the then imperfect state of the laws; and the still more imperfect execution of them, through unrighteous influence;—and having therefore taken cognizance of the whole into his own hands, in consequence of *atrocious facts* well known to all;—and having, thereupon, condemned no fewer than *forty-two* judges to capital punishment;* *Alfred* established such an observance of more effectual laws, that every man, who, by means of depredation, had lost property, was sure of recovering it,†—and of bringing the offender to justice:—and it was said, that even a gold chain might be left, with safety, hanging in the high roads.

This truly great man also encouraged the labours of all the most learned, and most ingenious men he could meet with, besides *Grimbald*, and particularly of *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, who made the stand against the then innovating doctrine of *transubstantiation*.

Animated by such example of his great predecessor, King *Athelstan*, among various works of well intended piety, caused a translation of the Holy Scriptures to be made into the *Saxon tongue*, about A. D. 930, or 940;—a work, the usefulness whereof is surely now beyond doubt; however the imposing craft, and superstition of the succeeding ages, depreciated its merit; and first scorned, and then cast it out of sight.—He is said to have employed, for the purpose, those who were looked upon as the most learned persons in the kingdom: and *Malmsbury*, speaking with energy of his efforts, concludes by saying, most justly, though with a sort of monkish quaintness,—that *his life was little, as to its duration,—but, much in point of glory: ‡—Vir, qui parum etati vixit, multum gloriæ.*

Nor ought we to forget, the exertions of *Howel Dha*, or *Howel the Good*, in South Wales; who, in imitation of *Alfred*, laid an

was enclosed in a little recess, like a sort of cupboard.—This sort of instrument is said not to be even now entirely lost in Germany: and our antient Kings had a *regall-maker*, amongst their musical establishment, with a regular salary. See *Archæologia*, Vol. III. p. 32.

* *Mirroir de Justices*, lib. v.

† *Ingulphi Historia*;—and *G. Malmesb.*

‡ *Wm. Mahas. lib. ii. ca. 6.*

excellent foundation of good Laws:—and whose ambition to imitate *Alfred*, may also well account for that remarkable imitation of the *Saxon* style of Architecture, which we shall find did actually take place in *Wales*.*

* See *Præfatio ad Leges Howeli Dha*. In the interesting old Chronicle, of *Caradoc of Llancarron*, is so curious an account of the manner in which *Howel Dha* framed his Laws, that it cannot be deemed superfluous to insert it.

After having told us, that *Alfred* had translated the antient Laws of *Dysmwal Moelmut*, King of Britain, and those of *Marsia*, Queen of Britain, wife to *Cyhelin*, out of British into English, which constituted a great part of the *Marsian*, or *West Saxon* Law; and that he had also added the *Dane Lex*, or prior customs of the Danes, and out of both framed his Laws, he proceeds to inform us, in what manner *Howel Dha* did then frame his Welsh Laws.

For the purpose of framing these Laws, he sent for the Archbishop of *Menenia* (St. David's), and all the other Bishops, and chief of the Clergy, to the number of 140 Prelates; and all the Barons and Nobles of Wales: and caused six men of the wisest, and best esteemed in every *Comote*, to be called before him, whom he commanded to meet all together at his house, Y Tuy gwyn ar Taf; that is, at the *White House upon the River Taf*.†

Thither he came himself, and there remained with his Nobles, Prelates, and Subjects, all the Lent, in prayer, and fasting,—craving the assistance, and direction, of God's Holy Spirit, that he might reform the Laws and customs of the country of Wales, to the honor of God, and the quiet government of the people.—About the end of Lent, he chose out of that company twelve men, of the wisest, gravest, and of the greatest experience; to whom he added one clerk, named *Blegored*, a singular learned, and wise man.—These had in charge to examine the old Laws, and customs of Wales; and to gather out of them such as were meet for the government of the country: which they did, retaining those that were wholesome, and profitable; expounding those that were doubtful, and ambiguous; and abrogating those that were superfluous, and hurtful;—and so ordained three sorts of Laws.

The first,—of the ordering of the King's, or Prince's household, and his court.

The second,—of the affairs of the country, and commonwealth.

The third,—of the special customs, belonging to particular places, and persons.

Of all the which, they having been read, allowed, and proclaimed, he caused three several books to be written.

One for his daily use, and to follow his court;—another, to lie in his Palace at *Aberffraw*;—and the third, to be at *Dinevowr*;—that all the three Princes of Wales might have the use of the same, when need required.

For the better observation of these Laws, *Howel Dha* caused the Archbishop of *Menenia*, (St. David's,) to denounce sentence of excommunication, against such of his subjects as refused to obey the same.—And within a while after he went to *Rome*, taking with him the Archbishop of St. David's, the Bishop of Bangor, and St. Asaph, and

† This House, which often went by the name of the *Tyguyn* House, has already been described in this work,—Vol. III. p. 27.

Last of all, the exertions of King *Edgar*, deserve attention;—who, about the year 960, (after the example of *Alfred*,) equipped, and trained, a great Navy; though indeed of a kind, if we are to judge from its numbers, not very much superior to a South Sea *Otaheitan* Navy.—It consisted of three thousand, five hundred vessels, divided into different squadrons, and so stationed, that they might be continually cruising round the Island.*

King *Edgar*, also, certainly gave all the encouragement to the increase of science, that the deluge of corruptions in Religion, and of priestly domineering, which was taking place, would permit;—whilst he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to promote Piety, by the repairing, rebuilding, and endowing of many Monasteries; with more magnificence, in point of

thirteen other of the most learned, and wisest men in Wales; where the said Laws, being recited before the Pope, were by his authority confirmed.

The same curious book describes the Welsh coronet, or crown, worn in those days, by the Princes, on their bonnets, and helmets, as being a sort of broad lace, or band, indented upwards, and set with precious, or coloured stones.

Howel began to reign about A. D. 940: and these efforts of his, to frame, and promulge Laws, were unquestionably great steps towards civilization. Whilst with regard to the assistance he received from the Archbishop of *Menenia*, (or St. David's,) it is not a little remarkable, that *Alfred* had, some years before, even sent for the celebrated *John de Erigena*, called *Scotus*, from the very Monastery of St. *David's*, with which that Archbishop was connected.

But notwithstanding all these Laws, we find an horrid state of barbarism was prevailing for ages afterwards, amongst the Welsh. And that they regularly made use of their woods, for robbing, and plundering all who passed through them: one of which was, on that very account alone, cut down, and destroyed, even so very late as the year 1228.

It was so late, also, as the time of Henry II. when, according to the account given by the same author, (notwithstanding the existence of any good Laws, either of *Alfred*, or of *Howel Dha*,) *William de Bruce*, Lord of Brecknock, invited *Sitsyllt ap Dysnwal*, *Geffrey*, his son, and a great number of the worshipful men of Gwent-land, to a feast at the Castle of Abergavenny; and when they, not mistrusting any harm, came thither, he had a great number of armed men, within the Castle, who fell upon *Sitsyllt*, and the rest, and without mercy slew them all;—and then forthwith went to *Sitsyllt's* house, (being not far from thence,) and took his wife, and slew *Cadwalader*, his son, before his mother's face, and destroyed the house.

This whole extract was taken from (p. 33, 53, 54, 236, 284.) of a scarce black letter Copy; which appears to have been printed about the 25th of Elizabeth, soon after Sir Henry Sydney had been governor of Wales.

* See Flor. Wigorn. G. Malmsb.; and Matt. Westm.

Architecture,—and with more convenience for the Recluses, than ever had been introduced before that time.

In these present days, we can hardly bring ourselves to apprehend, what difficulties those, who most desired to benefit mankind, had to struggle with, in early ages.—Pagan prejudices,—stupid ignorance,—and hasty violence, on the one hand;—and selfish craftiness,—and encroaching pretensions, on the other.

Even till *Canute's* time, the most horrid superstitions of *Pagan Idolatry* were so prevalent, that it was thought necessary to promulge an open Law, to forbid the worship of *the sun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, and trees.**

Which Law was merely framed, after the example of Canons, that had before been ordained, in King *Edgar's* time; wherein the Clergy were exhorted, and commanded, to be at great pains, to bring off their people *from the worship of trees, stones, and fountains.*†—And *Archbishop Dunstan* found it an easier way to lead mankind to hearken to him, and somewhat to concur in his endeavours, to promote science, and civilization, and to the advancement of the interests of his clerical brethren,—by imposing on men's credulity, and by fostering their superstitious prejudices,—than by the convictions of reason, or by attempting to change their inveterate habits.

Gildas‡ sufficiently explains to us, what was the wretched state of Christianity amongst the *Britons*, about the year 550, when the Clergy had *no* influence.—And *Dunstan's* conduct shews us, what its state was, amongst the *Saxons*, about the year 950, when the Clergy began to have *too much*.

Now let us turn our attention to investigate regularly, and minutely, the style of the *Saxon Religious Structures*, reared amidst all these circumstances.

We are told that *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, about the year 610, built a Church in the City of London,—dedicating it to St. Paul.§

* LL. Politic. Canuti Regis, ca. v. Apud. Lendenbrog in Glossar, p. 1473.

† Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 482.

‡ Gildas Ep. p. 1, 2, 3, et sec. xxvi.

§ See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 3; and also Hist. Ang. Script. fol. 385, 9. —735.—22.—1631.—49—Bedæ Hist. lib. ii. ca. 4.—Hen. Hunt. lib. iii. p. 186, &c. Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 5.

We are also told that, A. D. 611, *Sebert*, King of the East Saxons, built a Church at Westminster, which was consecrated by *Mellitus*, first Bishop of London.*

And we have therefore sufficient authority for concluding, that Religious Buildings of *Stone*, were actually erected, in both these places, in that age.—Though, as no fragments of either now remain, we cannot form any exact conclusions concerning them; nor gain any further satisfactory information from those Structures.

We have also seen, in the course of these Enquiries, that before the great corruption of the first promulged truths; and before the dismal spread of error and imposition took place in this country; certain great men who there is every reason to believe were very sincere, and as far as their situation and apprehensions would permit, meant well, endeavoured to lay a foundation for the more effectual promulgation of the Gospel; first by the establishment of a *division of Parishes*;—and next by the promoting and encouraging the building of *Parish Churches*; that were at first attended by devout men from Religious Societies, and afterwards by Parish Incumbents.

And that the first, and indeed the ablest of these well intentioned men, were *Honorius*, and *Theodore*, Archbishops of Canterbury, about A. D. 653, and A. D. 670.

It is no wonder, therefore, if, *within their jurisdiction*, we find Structures of this sort, with marks of the highest antiquity beyond all others;—and of such very antient date, that all antiquaries are silent concerning any records as to their origin.—Buildings yet, with such manifest indications of an intended imitation of Roman Architecture, as plainly shew they must have been of a very early date indeed in this country; and that they followed so very close upon the departure of Roman elegance, and taste from Britain, that this sort of style seemed, on its introduction, allegorically, as it were, to catch hold of the heel of the Roman magnificence that had fled away from this Island.†

* *Monasticon*, p. 55, 56.

† The idea adopted by Mr. *Somner*, in his Book of the Antiquities of Canterbury, in consequence of a misconstruction of a word, in a charter of King Edgar, and of a

Amongst these, one of the foremost, and still existing to this hour, is *Barfreston Church*, in Kent;—situated on an estate, and in a manor, which has every badge of the highest antiquity, and family dignity annexed to it;—and therefore on a spot, where of all others it is most likely, the admonitions and exhortations of the good Archbishop *Theodore*, should have the desired effect, of producing, with every degree of possible energy, from the then distinguished, and established family, such a structure.

Barfreston, or *Barfreyston*, in the hundred of *Eastry*, in the very earliest Norman times, was of such high rank, as to be held by *Castle Guard*, of Dover Castle.*—We may be well assured, therefore, that its possessor had been, in more antient Saxon times, of high dignity, and estimation.

A very good representation of the south door of entrance, with all its ornaments, discovered by the removal of the wooden porch, has been given by Mr. Grose, in his *Antiquities*.†—And such of those ornaments as remain not covered by the porch, rather more exactly delineated, in some respects, are now here shewn in the *Frontispiece* to this Volume.‡—The two dotted lines, meeting in a point above, shewing the part of the wall to which the porch is now fixed; whilst the ornaments concealed by it, are here added only in slight outlines.

The design appears, like most of the earliest Saxon ones, in reality free, both from those idle *legendary*, and from those horribly *blasphemous representations*, which were sometimes introduced in later ages;—and which have too hastily been concluded, by several Antiquaries, to have been uniformly introduced, in these kind of bass reliefs,§ over all Saxon doors.

misapprehension of *Stow's*, that the Saxon Churches were only *timber fabrics*, has been so fully confuted by Mr. *Bentham*, in his *History of Ely Cathedral*, both by convincing arguments, and by positive facts, that there needs only a reference to his curious work (p. 16, 20, 21, 22, 23) to convince any unprejudiced mind.

* See Philipott, p. 61.

+ See his Preface, p. 66.

‡ Both this representation, and the view of the *south side*, and east end of the Church, prefixed as a *Frontispiece* to this chapter, have been carefully drawn by the ingenious, and accurate Mr. *Wood*; to whom I am obliged, also, for a very particular examination of the upper figure, over the door.

§ It seems in truth to have been merely ignorance in the multitude, and the monkish

To the best of my apprehension, its designation seems to have been, to represent, at the top of the upper arch, the figure of some very distinguished *Saxon*, who, at the instigation of Archbishop *Honorius*, or of *Theodore*, built the Church;—and according to this drawing, (which was taken with the utmost accuracy possible), he appears in the attitude of lifting up his hands, and arms, as with praise, and thanksgiving;—whilst, in the inner arch beneath, appears the figure of a Bishop, or reverend Teacher, sitting, as preaching; holding up one hand, and resting the Sacred Scriptures on his knee, with the other.—And as to the surrounding ground of the flat stone, it seems to be filled up merely with emblematical figures, and with those of angels, and of the busts of patronizing Kings, and with ingenious scrolls.

This sort of designation seems also the rather to have been what was really intended; because *the cap*, on the head of the upper figure, so much resembles *the cap* represented on the head of a *Saxon* of distinction on horseback, carved on the capital of one of the side pillars of this door, as is shewn, on a larger scale, in Pl. III. fig. 1.; and also carved, in like manner, on a capital of one of the most antient *Saxon* pillars, on the lower part of the outside of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

The figures that form each of the two arches, in several little compartments, it may be remarked, are varied in each individual compartment; in the true *Saxon* manner, with the most studied variety;—and so are the capitals of the supporting pillars on each side;—in no part corresponding to the opposite ones, or alike;—but yet having a general good effect, without offence to the eye.—And the same may be said even concerning the very scrolls, with which one of the arches is adorned.

If the door-way, and its ornaments are curious, the inside of this little Church, whose small dimensions may still further in-

stupidity and craft of subsequent ages, that turned them into blasphemous Representations, and lying Legends;—to which has been added somewhat of malevolence, in some modern interpreters of them; no less mischievous than the white-wash with which I am sorry to add this very curious remain has been covered afresh, even since these drawings were taken.

duce us to conceive it to have been one of the very first built at *Theodore's* request, are more strikingly so.

For here we perceive a very remarkable kind of Architecture indeed; not only well designed beyond what followed, in several subsequent structures; but almost unparalleled; and scarcely ever, as far as we know, exactly imitated elsewhere.

This specimen is represented, Pl. I. fig. 1. being an arch, dividing the body of this little Church from its chancel.

The whole Church is only 28 feet 4 inches in length; and 15 feet 9 inches in breadth; as I carefully measured it, in 1787. But at its east end, and standing just before the chancel, which is only 16 feet long, and 12½ broad, appears this singular specimen of Architecture.

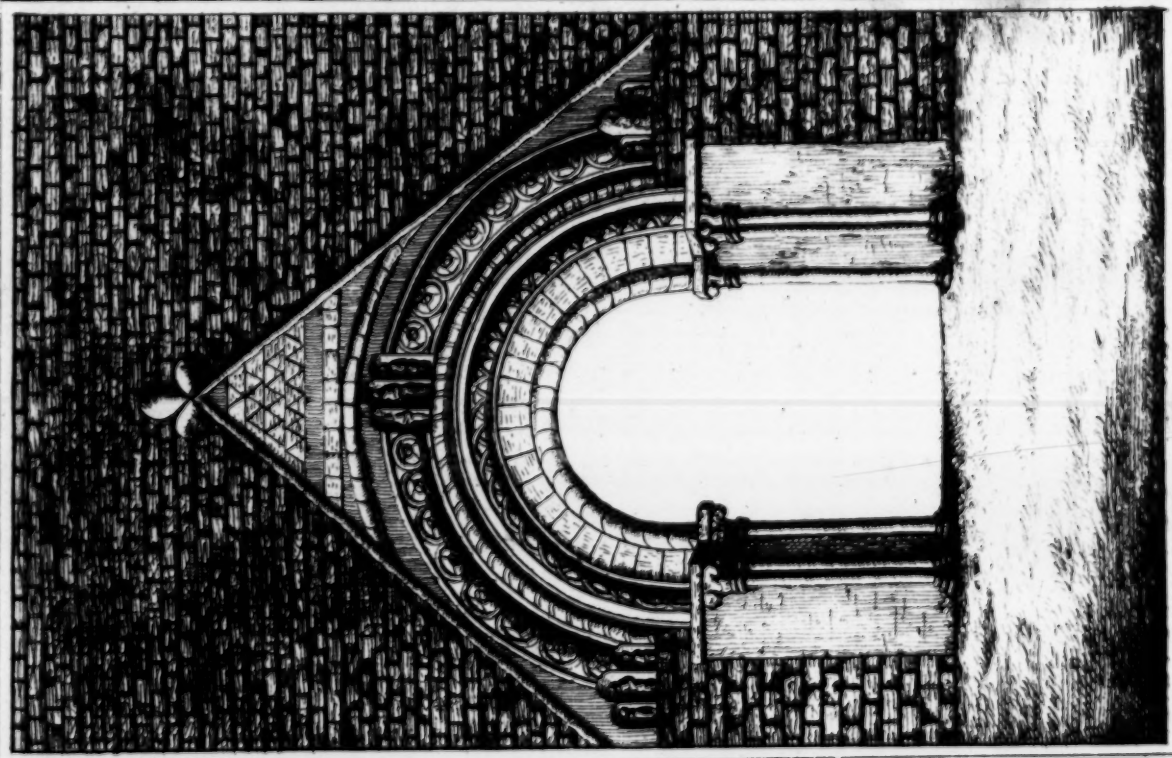
The partition wall is three feet thick; and this drawing represents the side towards the west; next to the body of the Church:—in which, with all its elegance of design, yet the odd *irregularity* of the finishing of the upper ornamental arch deserves to be well noticed;—because the two extremities are *totally unlike*;—as indeed throughout the whole structure of the Church, on the inside, as well as on the outside, there is a studied *diversity of ornament*, even in every part of every moulding, or band, on the walls.

At the same time the whole style bespeaks a sort of dawning science, and a degree of ingenuity less restrained, than it was found to be in subsequent ages.

Æsop's Fables are most plainly alluded to;—and a sort of classical science, with curious ænigmatical figures, is endeavoured to be introduced in different parts:—with a remarkable effort of some approximation to an elegant taste for *friezes*, something after the manner of those of the Romans.

In what precise year this Church was built, or who were the real inventors of all these rude devices, we cannot presume to affirm.—But it is obvious to conclude, that the whole was the effect of reflections, formed in rude, active, ingenious minds; who had a thirst for science, with which they did but just begin to be acquainted.

Fig. 2.

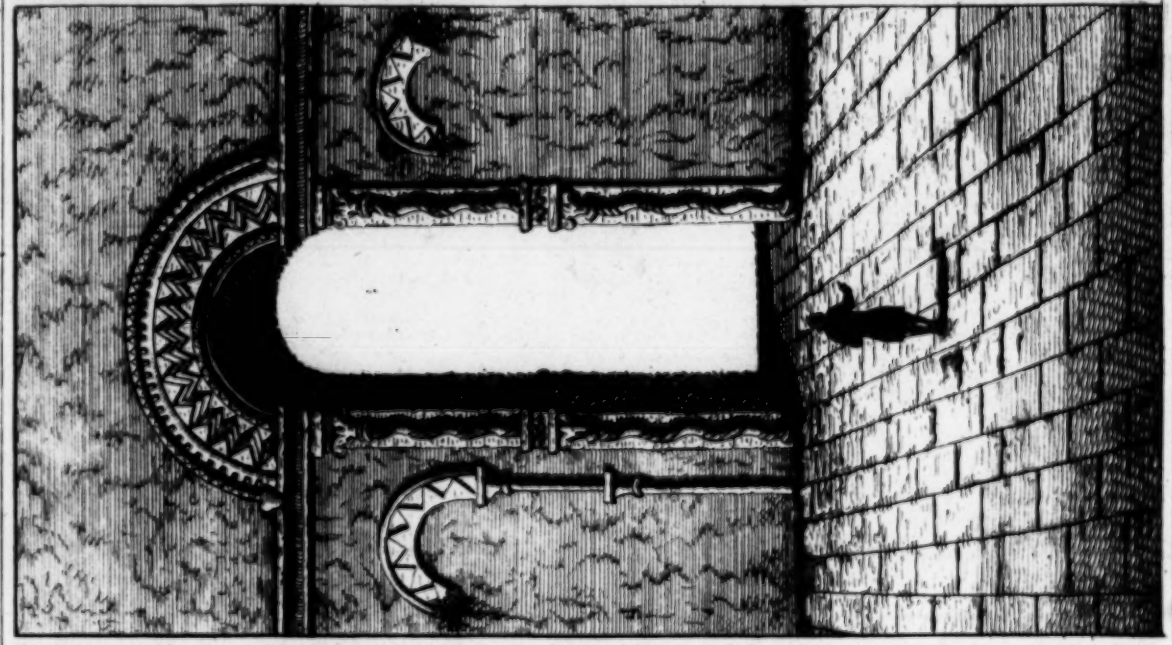


Doorway at St. Margaret's Cliff.

Published by Mr. T. Agnew & Sons, 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

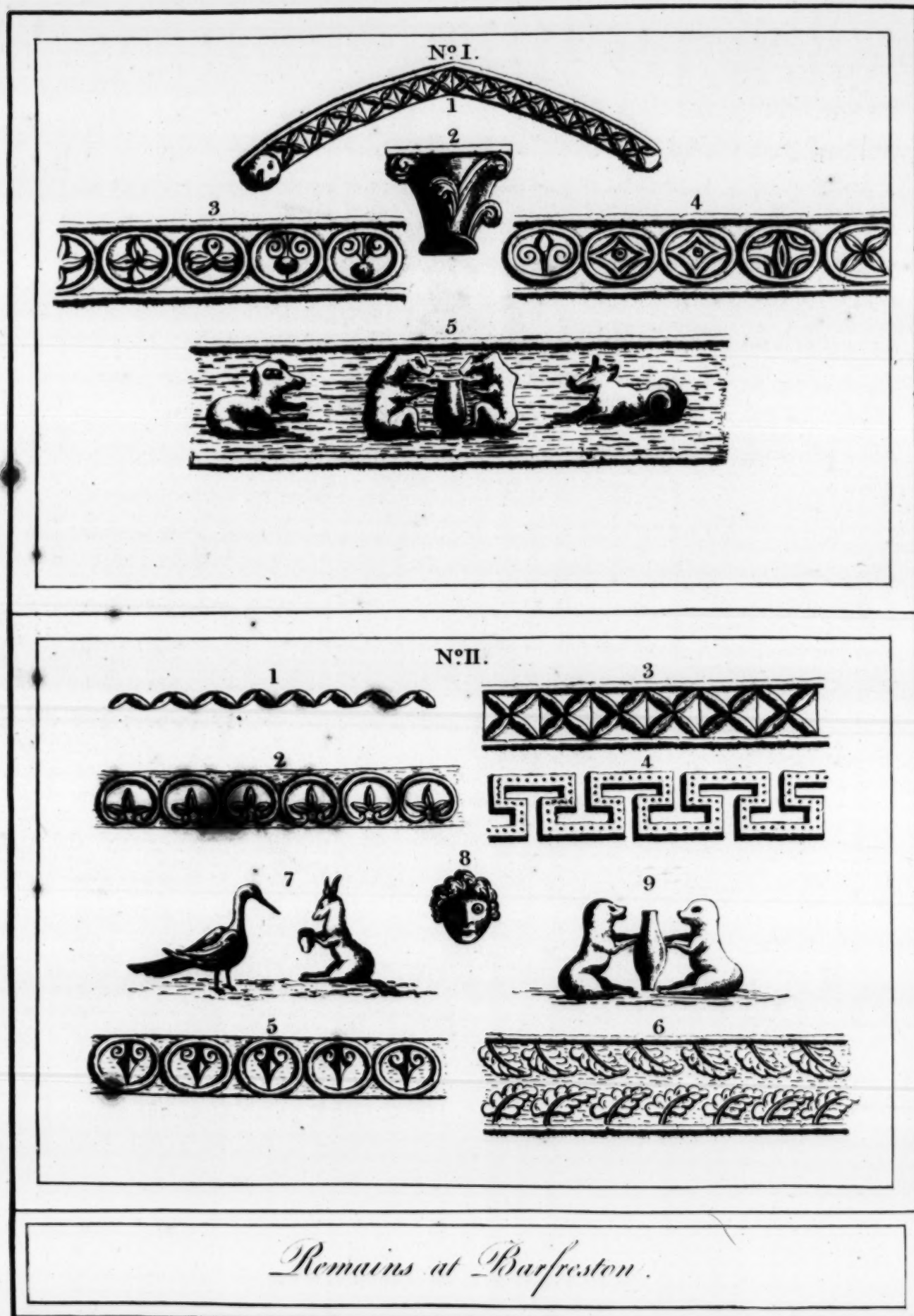
Fig. 1.

Vol. IV. Pl. I.



Arch at Barfreston.

Published by Mr. T. Agnew & Sons, 15, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.



Pl. II. No. 1, fig. 1. shews an ornament placed against the wall, over one of the windows of the chancel, on the south side.—Its near approach to the appearance of a pointed arch, would almost induce one to suspect it to be of a much *later* date, than the rest that follow:—for at Barfreston, as well as in almost all others of the very oldest *Saxon* Churches, alterations and additions have been made in subsequent *Norman* times.—But there is such a wildness in the workmanship, and such a *Saxon* peculiarity, in placing the large deformed death's head at one end, without any corresponding ornament at the other, as may well demand that this should be classed with the other *Saxon* ornaments; and especially as it cannot be forgotten, something like pointed arches have been found in some other structures that yet were completely *Saxon*.*

Fig. 2, represents the capital of one of the pillars of the partition wall.

Fig. 3 and 4, are representations of mouldings, on the wall, within the Church; like bands (or a sort of *freezes*) running round the inside of the building; and remarkable, for having the ornaments of the compartments, continually varied, in different parts of each band.

Fig. 5, are odd grotesque figures, on other parts of the same mouldings.†

No. 2. Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,—represent other varieties, in other parts of the mouldings.

And Fig. 7, 8, 9, represent other grotesque figures, carved in rude bass-reliefs, upon some other of the freezes, and mouldings.

* See *Munimenta*, Vol. III. p. 160, 164, 234, 236, to which we may add, that even amongst *Roman* remains, something very like a *pointed arch* appears, Plate xxi. in one part of the ruins of Balbec, so accurately represented by Messrs. Dawkins, and Stewart.—And that there are, also, even some appearances of *pointed arches*, in Justinian's Aqueduct, as represented in some curious drawings of Mr. Reveley's.

† It is a circumstance which perhaps will not escape the attention of the curious, whilst we describe these odd mouldings, and bands, on the walls of Barfreston Church, that *Eddius*, speaking with admiration of *Wilfrid's* Church, at *Hexham*, in Northumberland, built about 675, describes its walls particularly, as being surrounded with *various mouldings, and bands, curiously wrought*. “*Variis linearum anfractibus*.” See Bentham's *History of Ely Cath.* p. 22.—And *Eddii Vita Wilfridi*, ca. xxii. p. 62.

—And amongst these figures, one may most plainly discern a designed representation of *Æsop's* well known Fable, of the Fox, and the Crane.

It deserves to be remarked, further, that the *placing* of some of the original *Saxon* windows, on the inside of this Church, was no less irregular than that of the placing of the fancied ornaments on the arches, and mouldings.—But that great alterations have been made, by the introduction of some more modern *Norman* windows, with pointed arches; as may be seen in the sketch of the outside, as it now appears, given in the *Frontispiece** to this chapter:—and that there has also been a *Norman* round window introduced, at the east end, in the upper part.—And it is remarkable, and obvious in this view, from the appearance of the old marks against the end wall of the Church, that the roof of the Chancel was once even raised higher than it now appears.—Indeed it still remained so, till Mr. Grose's time; having been lowered, for convenience, only a very few years ago;—which has occasioned the east end to appear less perfect than it was when I saw it, and has occasioned the difference between this representation and that of Mr. Grose, in the upper part.

But nevertheless I cannot but be induced to think, both from what I observed myself, as well as from the views given by Mr. Grose, and by Mr. Wood, that *originally* the east end of the Chancel was still lower than it is even now;—and was terminated, at the top, with two little sort of turrets, one on each side.

In Pl. VIII. Fig. 5, is represented the arch of the south door of the Chancel;—which is seen also in the *Frontispiece* to this chapter.

In the whole, however, of the many, and varied ornaments of this early *Saxon* structure, there do not appear to have been, either on the inside, or on the outside, any of those kind of legendary representations; or of blasphemous representations, such as did afterwards find place in other Churches.—The utmost

* For this drawing I am indebted to the ingenious Mr. Wood.

that can fairly be said of any of *these* is,—that rude representations of Angels,—and something designed to represent Cherubims,—(the representations of which, were a sort of ornament allowed even in the Tabernacle, and in the Temple of Solomon,)*—the appearance of busts of Kings, and Queens,—of men in armour,—of men on horseback,—of men with musical instruments,—and devices from Æsop's Fables,—and ænigmatical figures,—are mixed, and grouped, in a manner that plainly shews, nothing but *mere innocent ornament* was intended.

In the very curious door-way of this Church, as in other early Saxon arches of Castles, that have been referred to,† the arch itself further appears *supported as it were, on the inside*, by a great flat semicircular stone, resting, at its two extremities, on the capitals of the innermost pillars; as if the arch itself were not to be trusted to, for its strength.—And though there are two supporting pillars, on each side the door, yet the greater part of the ornamented arch above *extends outwards, on each side beyond them*:—circumstances that are almost uniformly *characteristick* of the very earliest Saxon stone door cases, as well as the *dissimilarity of the capitals* of the corresponding pillars; and particularly distinguishes them from *Norman* arches.

In this instance also, on the capitals of the two largest pillars, instead of there being foliage, are grotesque figures;—and those on the one pillar, are perfectly different from those on the other.

And whilst we mention these peculiar circumstances, in which the very old Saxon arches differ from the *Norman* arches; the one by which they peculiarly differ from the *Roman*, and from the *British imitations* of the Roman, ought not to be passed by unnoticed; which is, that the true *Roman arches have none of those odd mouldings*,—zigzag,—embattled,—triangularly fretted,—nail headed,—hatched,—billeted,—lozenge work,—nebulated,—twisted,—braided,—and triple indented;‡ whereas the Saxon arches are overloaded with them.

* See Exodus, ch. xxvi. ver. 1, 31.—1st Kings, ch. vi. ver. 27, 28, 29, 32.

† See Munimenta, Vol. III. p. 160, 164, 234, and in the preceding page 75 of this Volume.

‡ Witness the arches of the Temple of Peace, at Rome, as represented, by P. Pannini.

It ought also further to be remarked, that although indeed the *Saxon arches*, and especially those of the latter period of the *Saxon* dominion, have sometimes only the *zigzag moulding*, which was afterwards also used by the *Normans*; or only the *triple indented moulding*; yet in general, when that is the case, there is a sort of wildness even in it, and often a *larger indentation*, which sufficiently distinguishes *Saxon* from *Norman* work.*

The *Saxon* arch may also often be distinguished from the *Roman* arch, as Mr. Wilkins† has accurately observed, by the very simple kind of impost moulding in stone, generally used by the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the *Norman Architects*.

These five peculiarities, therefore, are the characteristic distinctions of the *early Saxon arches*:—

1. A studied diversity of ornament, in the capitals of the supporting pillars, on each side the arch; instead of exact uniformity.

And those of the *Colosseum*.—And nearly all the ancient *Roman* arches, that are represented throughout the whole magnificent work of *Piccolini*.

Witness also the appearances of the arches of the *Temple of Venus*, on the coast of *Baia*;—and of the *Port of Cuma*;—and also of the *Amphitheatre of Capua*:—all of them represented on a large scale by *Clerisseau*.

Witness also even the *Arch of Trajan*, at *Beneventum*, notwithstanding the great enrichment of its soffit, as represented by *Clerisseau*.

And the *Arch of Pola*, in *Istria*, as represented by *Clerisseau*, notwithstanding its great enrichments in other parts, as well as in the soffit.

So also the *Arches of the Amphitheatre of Beneventum*, as represented by him.

And even the enriched *Arches of Palmyra*, and *Balbec*, of the time of the *Antonines*;—although they have mouldings greatly ornamented, have nothing like any of those which are here mentioned.

Yet that the *Romans* were not unacquainted with various curious devices, of a very similar kind to the *Saxon* mouldings, and that might have been applied to the same purpose, is evident, both from the variety of ornaments on the friezes, and whole entablatures of their *Temples*, and other *Buildings*; and more particularly from the many fanciful borders of their *Tessellated Pavements*.

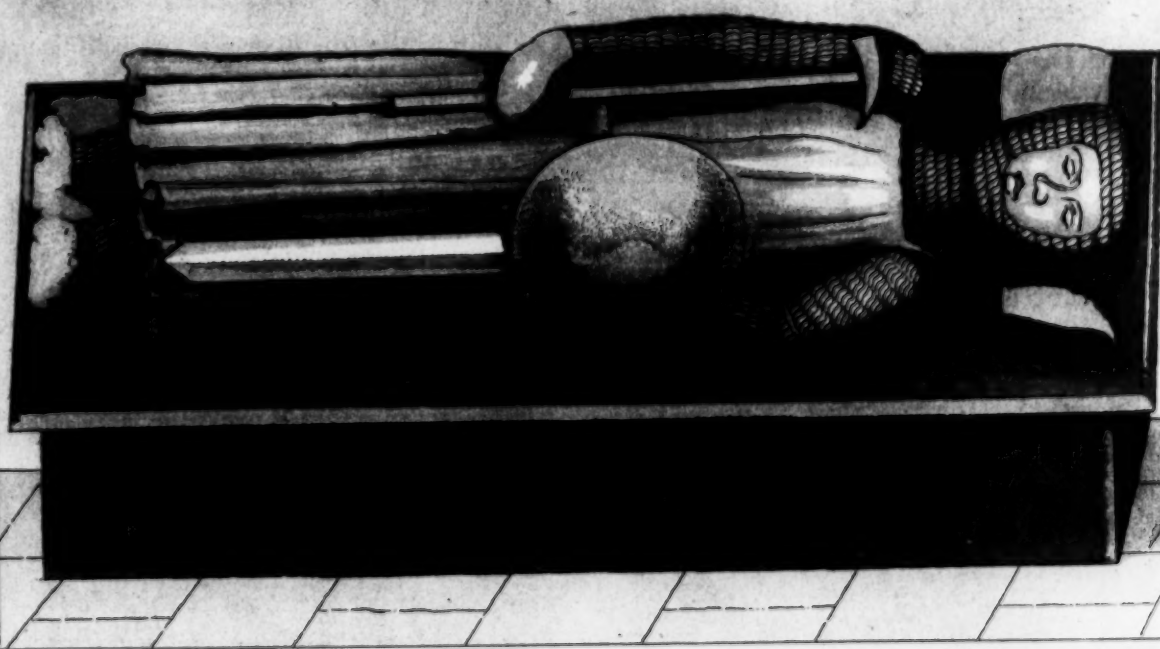
* The two are oftentimes confounded, and mistaken by inaccurate observers.—And perhaps it ought in general to be remarked, that although indeed there are fashions of *Architecture* peculiar to different ages; yet, at the beginnings, and endings of those ages, they are found very much blended together.—And in some instances (as in the case of the pointed arch) are found now and then in a small degree introduced, long before they are brought into common use.

† *Archæologia*, Vol. XII. p. 148, 176.

F. 1.



F. 2.



Saxon Sculpture.



2. A transom stone, (or transom stones,) most usually filling up the semi-circular part of the arch, as if to support it on the inside; and generally resting on the pillars at the two ends.

3. The supporting pillars, placed *standing inwards*, and somewhat nearer to each other than the whole diameter of the arch; and so as to support, with their capitals, both the inward *transom stone*, as well as the ends of the arch.

4. A loaded variety of ornaments, on the mouldings of the arch; and often in *very small compartments*.—And a great variety of mouldings, besides the indented moulding.

5. Yet, in general, a very plain simple kind of impost moulding, resting on the capitals of the pillars, for the support of the arch.

All these five peculiarities are sometimes, (though not often,) found united together in the same door-case, or window:—and are ever so *truly characteristick*, that hardly any *Saxon door-way* is ever found without one or two of them combined.

By these circumstances, therefore, such parts of truly antient Ecclesiastical *Saxon Buildings* as remain may be identified.—But it is not to be imagined, either that these peculiar ornaments continued invariably to be used, *just in the same sort of fashion*, quite till the Norman Conquest; or that immediately afterwards, they went *entirely* out of use.—Now and then they were somewhat imitated by the *Normans*;—but in such a manner, that as far as I have ever seen any instances, they may easily be distinguished by a discerning eye, both by the *larger proportion* of the several parts, and by an evident introduction of *corresponding ornaments*, on each side, instead of the *Saxon diversity*.

They may possibly also have been imitated from mere fancy, in a few instances, in succeeding ages; as they might even be introduced, in a mere modern building, so as to deceive the unwary.—But nevertheless they will still be truly characteristick of the *Saxon Ecclesiastical style of building*.

As to the more rude, and plain early *Saxon* arches, found to have been constructed in their Castles; some instances, and

representations have been given of them, in the preceding Volume;* and more will be added in this.

In the same part of Kent as *Barfreston*, and amongst those that may justly be deemed some of *Theodore's* first Parish Churches, as to the most antient part of its walls, is found another, at *St. Margaret's Bay*, or *Cliff*, in Kent.—In the west front of which, over the great door, within a large triangular space of wrought stone work, are some very odd ornaments; and several concentric arches, adorned with devices, hardly to be met with any where else.

At the top of these arches, instead of a key stone, are three small figures, in niches; and three similar figures, in niches, are placed at the bottom extremities of the outward arch, on each side, in the manner represented, Pl. I. fig. 2.

No less deserving of notice than the doors at *Barfreston*, and at *St. Margaret's Cliff*, in Kent, is that at *Malmsbury* in Wiltshire, which also seems to have been nearly of the same age; and of which a representation is here given, both because there is a considerable difference between it and the former; and also because it is in the old remaining Saxon part of the walls, of what was undoubtedly one of the earliest Saxon Churches, built in this country;—and because it has, on the stone filling up the semicircular space of the arch, a kind of representation, that much resembles such as became more common afterwards, when the figure of some *Saint* was expressly appointed to be placed, either over the door, or in some part or other of every Church, by the Ordinance, or Canon, that has already been mentioned,† as having been framed at the Council of *Geale-hythe*, in the year 816.

The account of the founding, and building of the Monastery, and Church at *Malmsbury*, is interesting.—About the year 640, or 650, *Maildolph*, an inhabitant of Scotland, having by some means or other acquired an uncommon degree of knowledge, for the age

* Munimenta, Vol. III. p. 252. Pl. xxxvi. fig. 1, 2, 3, 4.—And some other Saxon arches are represented in the same Volume, p. 254, Pl. xxxvii. fig. 1, 2, 3.

† See before, p. 56.

in which he lived, earnestly seeking to obtain quiet, and leisure; and unable to bear the constant maraudings, and inroads, so usual in his own country, fled into England, and took up his abode under the protection of the Castle of *Ingelburne*; which had originally been built by a *British King*, and was called *Gair-Bladun*.*—Here he constructed an Hermitage; and in order to supply himself the more effectually with necessary sustenance, undertook to teach some scholars;—and amongst the rest had *Aldelme*, or *Aldhelm*, for one; who attained to very considerable skill in what was then called Philosophy, and liberal science, besides being a most religious man; and is said to have been *the very first English Saxon that ever wrote in Latin*.—This disciple of *Maildolph's*, in order, if possible, to acquire still more learning, went afterwards into *Kent*, and studied under *Adrian*, Abbot of *St. Augustins*;† and there obtained such favour, that he was enabled, on returning to his master *Maildolph*, by the assistance of *Eleutherius*, or *Lutherius*, Bishop of *Winchester*, to found a Monastery of *Benedictines*, in the place where he was educated, which at length acquired the name of *Malmsbury*.—*Berthwald*, King of the *West Saxons*, was a great Benefactor, and promoter of his undertaking;—and *Athelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and also King *Chedwalla*, both added great donations before the year 700. As, therefore, *Aldelme's* journey to *Kent*, was in the time of Archbishop *Honorius*, and he could not but be also known to Archbishop *Theodore*;—and as his second master *Adrian*, was afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and he himself was even made Bishop of *Shirburn*;‡ continuing to be celebrated for his ingenuity, and science;§—and as he was so nearly a contemporary of *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*;—he must have had every means, and every degree of information possible, to lead him to build even one of the first, and best structures for a Church, of any in that age.—And we find he was by his own express appointment buried in a Chapel which he had there built.||

* Leland Itin. Vol. II. fol. 26.

† See the Monasticon, p. 50, 51.

‡ Leland Itin. Vol. II. fol. 26.

§ Bede Hist. lib. v. ca. 18, 19.—Will. Malmsb. lib. i. fol. 13. lib. ii. fol. 55, 58.

|| Hearne's Leland's Collectanea, Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 302.

It is a well-known fact, and will be, in several instances, elucidated in the pursuit of our enquiry, that of the most noble, and most beautiful of the Ecclesiastical Structures, from first to last, the *Ecclesiasticks* themselves were the *very Architects*.*—There therefore is the utmost reason to believe, that *Aldelme* himself might be the very person, who designed the curious door that will now be described; and which still remains in what appears to have been a part of the old original wall, notwithstanding the additions, and alterations, made in the superstructure.—And this circumstance, (considering *Aldelme's* acknowledged great ingenuity) may account for the extraordinary elegance of design, which is so evident in it, even beyond the beauty of most other *Saxon* doors.

In the reign of King *Edwy*, about A. D. 955, during the indignation that prevailed against Monks in general, those of this Monastery were expelled,† and for about 20 years secular Priests

* Amidst all the just complaints, against the indolence, and corruptions of the monastick life, nothing can be more true, than that, whilst these societies were, by the study and labours of many excellent persons, the nurseries of almost the only science, and learning, that in turbulent ages was preserved in the world; they were equally the nurseries of Arts.—And, that the same sort of ingenuity, and abundant leisure, that produced fine copies of manuscripts, and sometimes beautifully painted illuminations; and many fancied mosaic borders for their leaves; at other times produced varied ornaments for mouldings, and new designs of Architecture for building:—and even, in some well known instances, laid the foundation for *staple manufactures*.

Wilfrid, Bishop of York, who about the year 674 was in high favour with *Oswi*, and *Egfrid*, Kings of Northumberland, was eminent for his own knowledge, and skill in Architecture, which he had partly acquired by travelling to Rome, at the same time that he brought over Artists from thence. See Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, p. 24. Richard. Prior Hagulst. lib. i. ca. 5. Eddii Vita S. Wilfridi, ca. xxii.—Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 272.

And the Abbot *Benedict Biscopius*, who was sometimes the companion of *Wilfrid's* travels, was another skilful Architect. Bedæ Hist. Abbatum Wiremuth. et Gyrw. p. 295.

Albert, who became Archbishop of York, A. D. 767, had previously travelled to Rome, and brought home with him a most valuable Library of Books, for that age.—And he had taken with him two Ecclesiasticks, *Eanbald*, and *Alcuin*, who were reckoned amongst the most learned men of those days; and who both became also justly esteemed the greatest *Architects* of the age; at the same time that *Eanbald* became Archbishop of York. Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, p. 26, 27.—Willielm Malmesburiens. de Pontificibus Angl. lib. iii. p. 153.

† Wm. Malmesb. lib. ii. fol. 55.

were placed in their room.—But the Monastery was restored with greater splendour than ever by King *Edgar*,* and enriched by the patronage of Archbishop *Dunstan*, (who translated the bones of *Aldelme* from his first grave, in the Chapel, to a shrine.†)—And the Monastery was further aided also, by the liberal benefaction of King *Edward*.—It may possibly therefore be concluded, by some persons, that this door might have been constructed about the time of King *Edgar*.—Even in that case, it would still be equally *Saxon*.—But it is in truth much more elegant than those in general of *Edgar's* time;—and there was no period afterwards, the Architecture of which does properly correspond with it.

* As to Mr. Somner's conclusion, from an expression in the Charter of King *Edgar*, A. D. 974, for the rebuilding of this very Monastery, that there was only a Church built of *wood* before that time;—it has been so completely confuted, both by the most solid reasoning, and by the producing of positive facts of Churches of *stone*, affirmed by the very earliest Saxon Historians to have been built, and to have been in existence in their days, that there cannot remain a doubt but that the first old *Saxon* Church at *Malmesbury* must have been a structure of stone:—and if so, some parts of its walls must probably have remained:—and of all parts, none more likely to have done so, than the door-cases of stone, constructed as we see them in a manner calculated to last through many many ages.—The words of the Charter are, describing the decayed state of the Monasteries in general, *quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis, tigno tenuis visibiliter diruta*; which Somner translates, by saying, *they to the outward sight are nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards*; and thence concludes they must have been built entirely of wood:—whereas the words fairly imply no more, than that the wooden part of the roofs of the Churches, and monastick buildings, and the floors of those buildings, were quite neglected, and decayed, and rotten.—See *Spelman Concil.* p. 488.—*Carta Regis Edgari*, *Wilkins Concil.* Vol. I. p. 260.—*Somner's Antiquities*, p. 86.—*Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral*, p. 16.

In 710, even a King of the *Picts*,—*Naiton*,—wrote a Letter to *Ceolfred*, Abbot of *Girwy*, near to the Abbey of *Wermouth*, (which had been built by Abbot *Benedict Biscopius*, A. D. 675), declaring his intention of building a Church of *stone*,—and requesting *Ceolfred* to send him artificers. *Bedæ Hist. Abbatum Wiremuth et Gyrw.* p. 295. *Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. ca. 21.*

And in 716, when *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, founded *Croyland* Monastery in *Lincolnshire*, on a marshy soil, which was even more adapted to a *wooden* structure than to one of *stone*; he caused a vast number of large oaken piles to be driven into the ground, and also a more solid kind of earth to be brought in boats nine miles by water, to be laid thereon, that he might, notwithstanding the natural disadvantages of the site, build his Church of *stone*. *Ingulphi Hist. Croyland*, p. 4.

† We have here another proof of the slow progress of superstition with regard to the enshrining of Episcopal Remains in England.—It was not till 91 years after his burial, that the body of *Aldelme* was translated to a shrine.

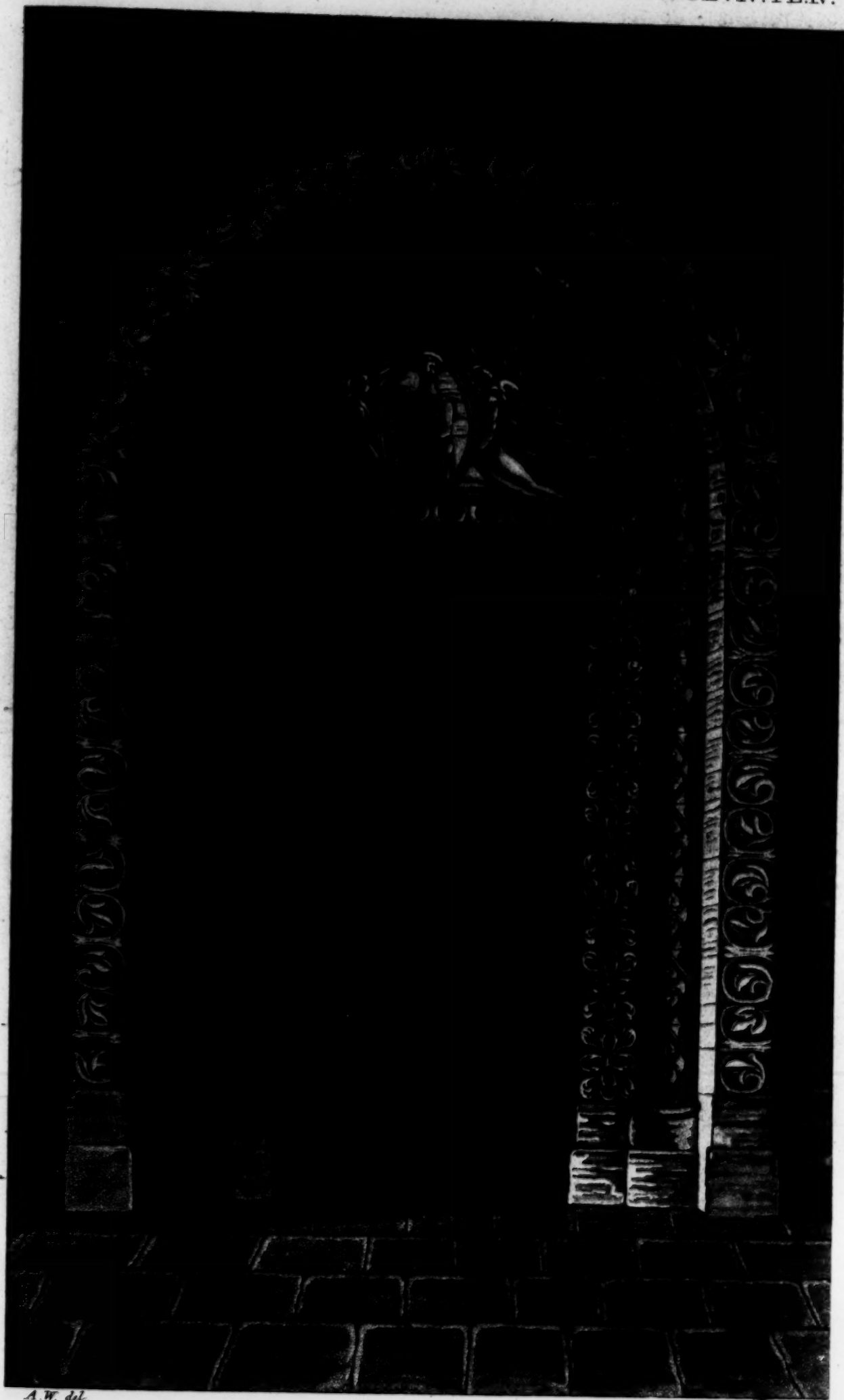
The door is represented, Pl. IV.—and surely nothing can well be more elegant, than the leaf,—and the scroll foliage mouldings,—and the enriched lozenge moulding,—and enriched quarter foil moulding.—They were evidently the singular invention of some elegant mind;—whilst the rude transom moulding, over the door, and the stone filling up the semicircular space of the arch, with the rude figure of the patron saint, are as evidently Saxon, as can well be.

Pl. V. fig. 1, represents another curious Saxon Arch at Malmesbury, with a no less singular and elegant, double leaf moulding.

And in the same Pl. V. to avoid the representation of an unnecessary number of Saxon arches, are now added a variety of Saxon mouldings, that have been met with in different places,—which are here put together, in this manner, for the sake of shewing them in a comparative view:—whilst, concerning them, it may be useful just to observe, that only the plainest, and most simple, and in general, only the chevron zigzag, or the triple indented moulding, were ever imagined, or at all used by the Normans.

They are as follows; (besides this double leaf moulding, fig. 1.)

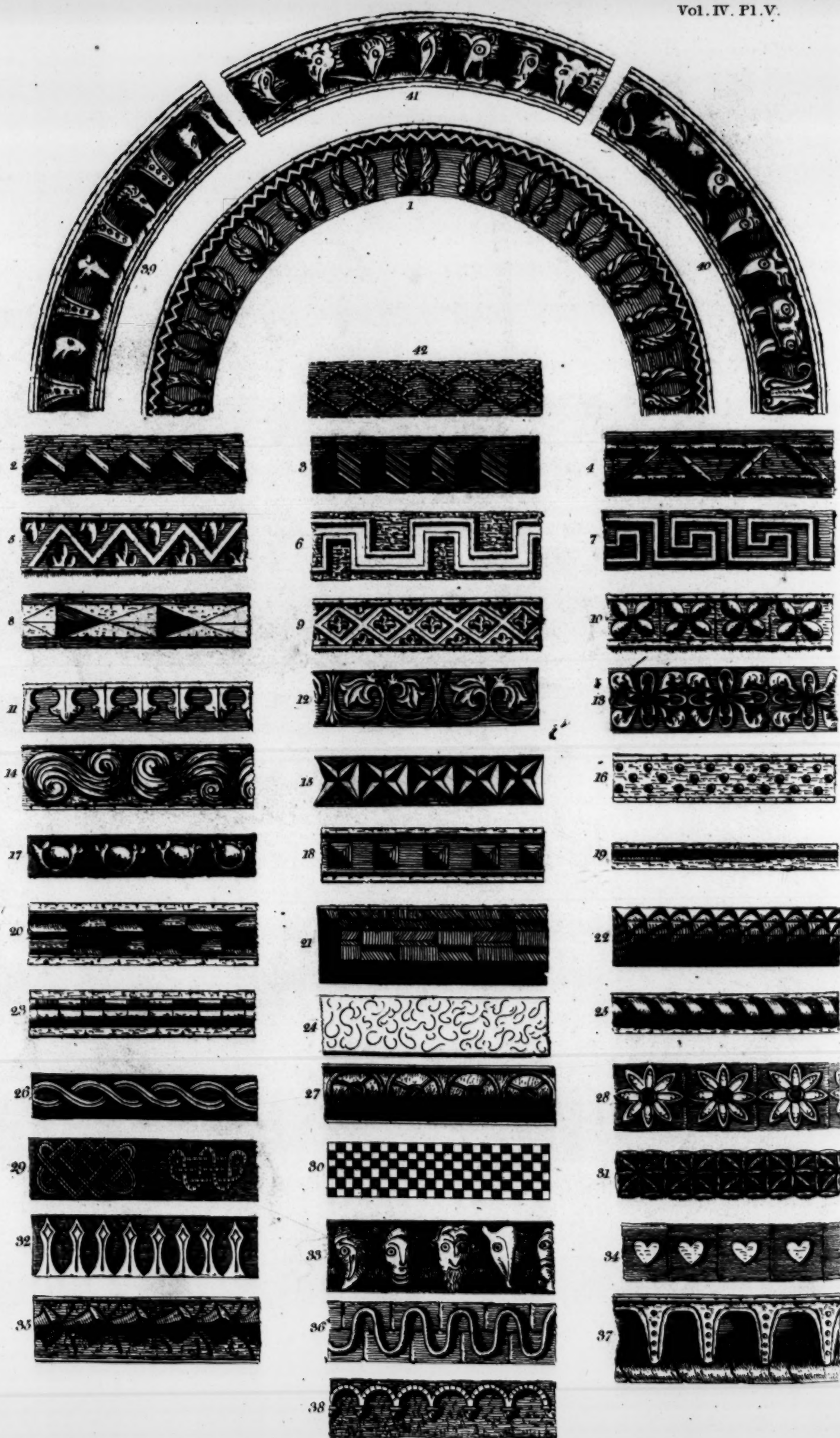
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 The chevron, or zigzag moulding. | 13 The enriched quarter foil moulding. |
| 2 The triple indented moulding. | 14 The mere scroll moulding. |
| 3 The triangular frette moulding. | 15 The starry moulding. |
| 4 The enriched triangular moulding. | 16 The bead moulding. |
| 5 The embattled frette moulding. | 17 The hobbed moulding. |
| 6 The labyrinth moulding. | 18 The nail-head moulding. |
| 7 The lozenge moulding. | 19 The billet moulding. |
| 8 The enriched lozenge, or enriched frette moulding. | 20 The double billet moulding. |
| 9 The rose moulding. | 21 The square billet moulding. |
| 10 The trefoil leaf moulding. | 22 The hatched moulding. |
| 11 The scroll foliage moulding. | 23 The incrustated moulding. |
| | 24 The scribbled moulding. |
| | 25 The cable, or twisted moulding. |
| | 26 The braided moulding. |
| | 27 The crossed circle moulding. |



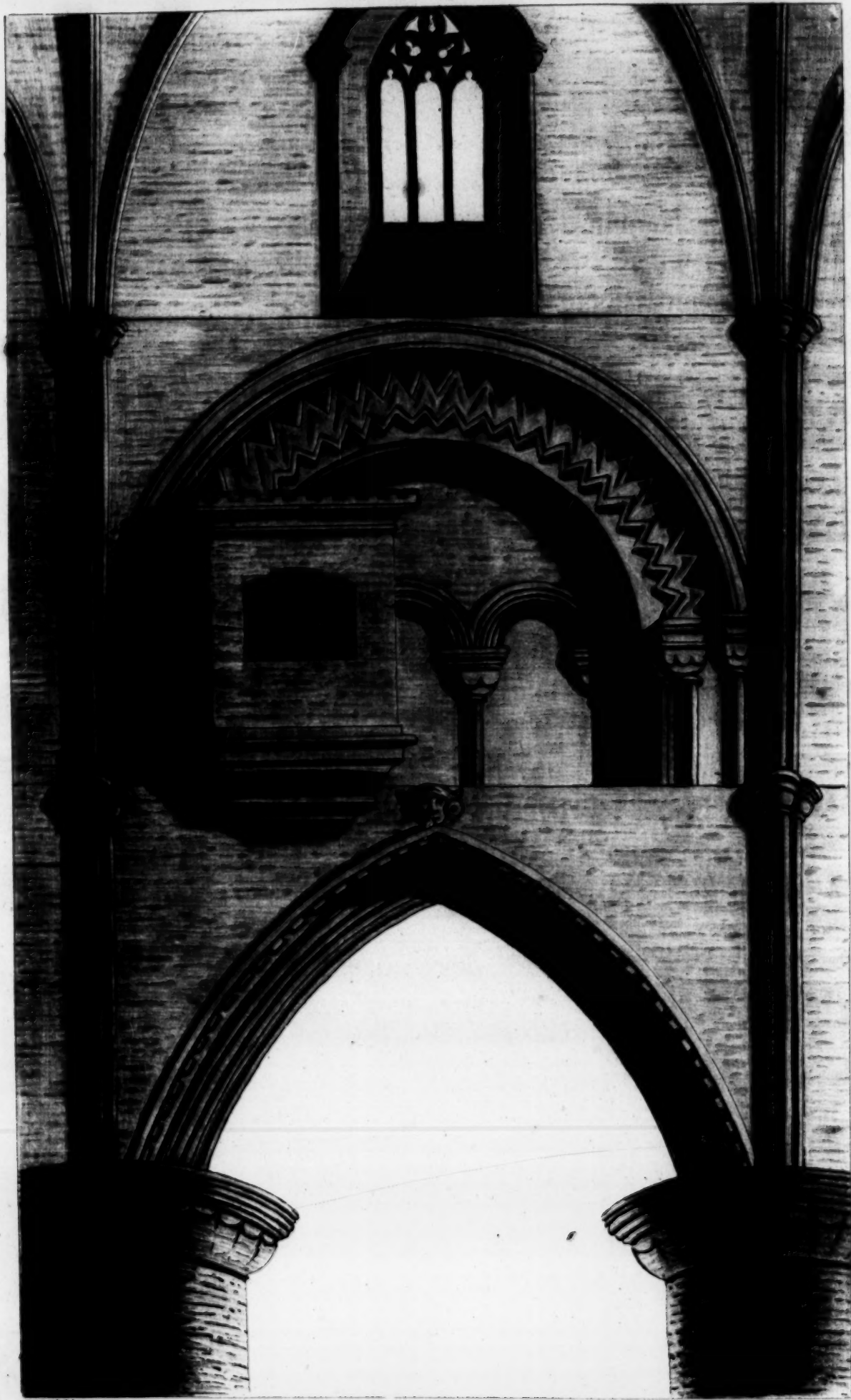
A. W. del.

J. Caldwell Sculp.

Door at Malmesbury







A.C. del.

J.C. Stadler sculp.

Norman Alterations at Malmesbury

28. The sun-flower moulding. 34. The heart moulding.
 29. The reticulated moulding. 35. The wedge moulding.
 30. The chequer moulding. 36. The nebule moulding.
 31. The cross pointed moulding. 37. The over-lapping moulding.
 32. The spear point moulding. 38. The corbel table.
 33. The head moulding.

39, 40, 41, Are three more different specimens of the *head mouldings*, shewing how oddly, and purposely, the variations of the figures seem to have been made. —

And fig. 42 is a *lozenge chain moulding*; thus placed within the arch, because it is found in the beautiful Porch, of the same Church, at *Malmsbury*.

Besides these, which have all been taken from specimens actually existing, there are the odd variations of mouldings that have already been described as found at *Barfraston*, in Kent; and still more varieties may be met with at *Shoreham*, in Sussex; and in other places, which will be noticed in the subsequent pages.

In the many previous descriptions of *Saxon Castles*, the giving at the same time some account of the *Norman subsequent additions, and alterations*, has tended to fling more light upon the subject: and in like manner, in the present instance, it may not be amiss just to add a specimen of *Norman additions, and alterations*, made in old *Saxon Ecclesiastical Structures*.

Pl. VI. therefore, represents a part of the old Church at *Malmsbury*, where an original *Saxon* arch remains, in the midst, between the top, and the bottom of the wall;—but where the original circular *Saxon* arch, that crowned the two pillars at the bottom part, has been cut away; and been converted into a pointed *Norman* arch;—and where a still more modern pointed *Norman* arch has been added, in the upper part of the wall above it.

In short, this is one of those odd remains of antient Architecture, (whereof many instances will be given hereafter,) concerning which an intelligent Antiquary, if he were asked the question,—when the several parts of the wall were built?—must return the

* Several of them may also be found in Mr. Lysons's curious Etchings of Remains in Gloucestershire.

almost ludicrous answer, (yet perfectly consistent with truth),—
First the middle;—then the bottom;—and then the top.—For the wall
 originally was entirely *Saxon*, with circular arches;—but in the
 time of the *Normans*, first the lower circular arch was cut out into
 the form of what was become more fashionable, a *pointed arch*;—
 and afterwards the still more modern window was added above,
 with a new roof to the Church over it.

Iffley Church, in *Oxfordshire*, has been mentioned,* as one of
 the early *Saxon* buildings.—And in like manner some parts of the
 walls of *Adderbury Church*, in the same County, deserve to be just
 mentioned: because they have been alluded to, by Mr. *Grose*, as
 remains of an edifice of the *Saxon* age;† and as having mouldings,
 or a sort of freezes, ornamented with strange allegorical, and gro-
 tesque figures, somewhat like some of those at *Barfreston*.

As I never saw the building, I am not competent to form a
 decided opinion. But I have many doubts, whether the freeze
 described by Mr. *Grose*, as at *Adderbury*, is not rather connected
 with a much later age; when such sort of extravagantly burlesque
 ornaments, were connected more immediately with the disputes
 between, and the lampoons alternately cast upon, the *secular*, and
regular Clergy.—Unquestionably, however, next to *Kent*, and
 the diocese of *Canterbury*; the country adjoining to *Oxford*, was
 most likely to contain remains of Churches, the first of all others
 reared on Archbishop *Theodore's* plan.

At *Dinton*, in *Buckinghamshire*, is another Parish Church,
 which may be classed with these.

The door-way of this Church, with its *Saxon* ornaments, is re-
 presented in the *Archæologia*.‡—And a transcript of the very
 remarkable inscription, placed over its lintel, is there given.

There is an evident difference, though not considerable, in the

* There is a representation of this Church in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791,
 Vol. LXI. p. 499:—and its door, on a larger scale, with its peculiar croud of ornaments,
 is represented in *Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, Pl. xiii. p. 101.

† See *Grose's Antiquities*, Vol. VI. p. 22.

‡ See *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 167, Pl. xvii. with a very curious description accom-
 panying the plate; and an account of some Antiquities of very early ages, dug up near
 the spot; in a very ingenious paper, by John Claxton, Esq. of Shirley.

capitals of the pillars, and ornaments, on each side.—The *heart moulding* also is very remarkable:—and the *braided moulding*,—the *triple indented moulding*, and the *billeted moulding*, have singularities in them, that deserve attention.

The arch, as is the case with so many others of the earliest Saxon times, seems not to have been trusted to; and has a sort of transom stone to support it on the inside: whilst the doorway has also a flat lintel at the top.—And on the stone, filling up the arch, are odd ænigmatical ornaments, that originally did not surely deserve to be deemed either idolatrous, or superstitious; but merely as consisting of emblematical representations.

In the upper part appear two most forlorn savage figures, having heads of wolves, claws of dragons, and tails of fishes; placed on the two sides of a fruit tree; each of them with open mouths devouring part of a branch, and of the fruit of the tree:—whilst in a moulding underneath is an inscription, in letters, the near resemblance of which to *Roman letters* shews its high antiquity. It is as follows:

PREMIAPROMERIT¹SSIQ²SDESPE THABENDA.—

Mr. Claxton reads it,

Premia pro meritis si quis desperet habenda.

But perhaps it may be read either thus:

Premia Promerita iis queis fides Petri, habenda.

Or else thus:

Premia Promerita, scilicet, si quis desperet habenda.

Underneath this, in another second moulding, follows:

AVDIATHICPRECPTASIBIQVES,TRETINSDA.—

Which may be read thus:

Audiat hic Precepta sibi. Que sunt retinenda, (or) que sint retinenda.

And underneath these inscriptions, in a broad freeze, over the door, appears a monstrous winged dragon, pursuing a poor winged, fleeting figure, designed perhaps to represent an imaginary spirit, or a soul, flying from it.

The whole therefore may be thus decyphered.

The tree is meant for the tree of life.—The savage figures for

unconverted sinners;—desiring food and comfort.—The winged dragon represents the devil, or the world;—and the flying, fleet-
ing figure, a soul making its escape.

The translation of the legends may be,

Rewards conferred;—to be obtained by those who have Peter's faith.

Or,

Rewards conferred;—to be obtained, even if any one is in despair.

Let each hear, in this place, precepts worth retaining.

Read how we will, or can, the plain interpretation of the whole is, surely, free from either legendary tale, or idolatry; and merely an honest admonition to wretched human beings, deformed by vice and wickedness, to seek the heavenly food, which affords nourishment unto life eternal;—to flee from the world, and the devil;—and to hearken to the precepts of the Gospel; that they may obtain the rewards consequent upon embracing its divine truths.—Advice such as seems to have been perfectly consistent with the honest meaning of *Theodore*, and of those who first built *Parish Churches* in his days, and in consequence of his exhortations, and admonitions.*

* It will be observed, perhaps, that in reading this very antient Inscription, I venture to suppose one letter, towards the end, which in the *Archæologia*, is transcribed as an S, to have been an E.—The ill shape of the letter, or a blundering stroke of the original workman, might occasion this mistake; or even the obliteration of time might effect it.—But as no sense whatever can be made of the whole, without venturing to make *this emendation*, we may surely venture to make it.

As to the rest, if the first reading now proposed can be thought allowable; then *the faith of Peter* alluded to, is plainly *that*, contained in those words, whereon Peter is told the whole future Church should be founded;—and which stand thus in the original;—*Thou art the Christ; the Son of the living God.*—Matthew, ca. xvi. v. 16.

The reading given in the *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 168, I cannot readily assent to; because it appears to me to be somewhat inconsistent with a right Christian faith.

“*Premia pro meritis si quis desperet habenda.*”

“*Audiat hic Præcepta sibi quæ sunt retinenda.*”

i. e.

If any one despairs of having rewards for his merits,

Let him hear precepts which are to be retained.

As the Gospel does not *any where* inform us of any *merits*, that any man on earth can pretend to have; or of any precepts that should lull him into such an idea; however reasonable it may be to hope that all sincere endeavours will be accepted; I cannot suppose this to be accurately the right reading of any Christian Inscription, in any age; and therefore propose the other;—which seems plain enough.

Somewhat similar, in point of simplicity, and in the design of its odd allegorical pious ornaments, is the old Church at *Que-nington* in Gloucestershire: of which some very curious representations are given by Mr. Lysons, in the *Archæologia*.*—But I cannot forbear venturing to form a conclusion a little different from that of this very ingenious, and able Antiquary, both as to the meaning of the figures; and as to the date of the original building.

With regard to the first, we find a transom stone, over the north door, with a large semicircular stone placed over it, and filling up the whole arch, as if designed to support the arch: and on this stone emblematical figures; resembling in the first place, an holy man, or preacher, with one hand held up, evidently as speaking; and with a sort of radiation round his head.—Whilst he appears as inserting a crozier, (an emblem of his being a preacher of the doctrine of the cross; or of the good news, or Gospel,) into the mouth of a wretched being, in an human form, lying on the ground, bound hand and foot, by the twisting of the tail of a serpent; and whilst from the mouth, and power of this serpent, appear to have emerged three other human forms, delivered, and thankful: and over their heads appears a sort of sun; an emblem of light.

This whole, strange, allegorical representation, reminds one of that odd Letter of *the Pope, Leo the Third*, to *Kenulph*, King of Mercia, about A. D. 801, wherein he says *Athelard*, the *then* Archbishop of Canterbury, “ was such an admirable Preacher, and Ruler of

I must add, that if the word were designed to be *pro meritis*, and not *promerita*, why should not the last (i) be a long one, like the foregoing; rather than a *short abbreviation*, as it plainly is.

It scarce needs to be remarked, that as to the *pointed arches* of the door-way at the west end of Dinton Church, and those of its windows, mentioned in the *Archæologia*, p. 168, they are surely only indications of a *subsequent* building having been raised on the original remains of walls of the old *Saxon Church*: and ought not to be considered as having any sort of connection with the real age of the *Saxon door-way*, or of the first building.

* *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 129, Pl. VIII.

"the Church; such an admirable Prelate, that he was able to
 "bring all the souls in his province from the very bottom of hell,
 "into the port of heaven."*

The whole therefore seems merely, and simply to indicate, in a strain of allegorical representation, very consonant to that at *Dinton*; that by the blessed preaching of the words of the Gospel, wretched beings, bound in the bands of sin, and Satan, are rescued from the devil, and hell, and restored to true light, and freedom.

Over the south door of the Church,† on a similar stone, which resting upon a transom stone, fills up, in like manner, the semi-circular arch, are figures a little more dubious; and which plainly indicate an age something later than those at *Dinton*.

But they appear to me, though very rudely executed, to have been designed as figures of the four Evangelists; *Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John*, with the four well known emblematical figures, usually connected with them, in consequence of the descriptions in Ezekiel's visions: the angel; the lion; the ox; and the eagle; and a sketch of the Church is added, in which their doctrine was to be preached. All surely most strangely sculptured; but without any offensive or blasphemous representation.—Whilst the whole, on both doors, seems to have been designed to represent simply, a good Bishop, and the effects of his good doctrine; or at most to have been merely an early compliance with the Canon, or Ordinance of Ceale-hythe of 816, that has been already mentioned.‡

Both in this door case, and in that on the north side, the whole of the ornaments are too fantastical, and have too much *studied difference in the corresponding parts*, to be justly imputed to any Norman times.

In the north door case, not only the capitals of the pillars are designedly different; but the adjoining ornaments, on a sort of freezes, also are designedly different; yet with a degree of cor-

* Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 322.

† Represented in the *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 123, Pl. VII.

‡ P. 56 of this Volume.

respondence of general outline, sufficient to make them answer one another somewhat to the eye.*

And in the south door case, the *nobbed moulding*, and the *curb moulding*, are very remarkable; as is also the studied variety, and want of correspondence in the heads of the *head moulding*.

Again at *Elkstone*, in Gloucestershire, is another structure; the most curious parts of which have been admirably well etched, and represented by Mr. Lysons;† but which I cannot but venture to deem of still higher antiquity than he esteems it.—Every part both of the south door case, and of the chancel, shews a truly *Saxon* origin: and is of that whimsical, varied kind, which seems to have been introduced merely by the fancy of Recluses; and to have prevailed, a little after the age of Archbishop *Theodore*.

The very name, (which Sir Robert Atkyns says‡ signifies *Church Town*.) implies its high antiquity; and the sort of pre-eminent advantage which this place had of having a *Church* in the very earliest ages:—and so also does what is said in *Domesday Book*, concerning the tenure of this parish, and its name, in the time of Edward the Confessor.

The strangely varied ornaments of the arches, and of the capitals of the pillars, of the south door of the Church, are very unlike any thing truly *Norman*, either of the age of William the Conqueror, or of any subsequent age.

The innermost arch, is adorned with a moulding consisting of monstrous heads, all differing from one another, with as much studied variety as the ornaments at *Barfreston*, or as those at *Shoreham*;—and several of them indeed resemble very much some that are at *Shoreham*.—Whilst the outward *bead moulding* is very singular.

The *transom stone* also, (so unlike what is found in any *Norman*

* There is a general view of the *external appearance of this Church*, with some of its other *Saxon* arches, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 128. Pl. VI.

† The South door is represented, in Mr. Lysons's *Etchings and Views*, Pl. VIII. and the Chancel, Pl. IX.

‡ Atkyn's *Gloucestershire*, p. 224.

structures,) filling up the whole semicircle, and which seems designed to support the arch, is itself supported by stone work from the floor on each side the door, and is simply adorned with the figure of a person, who appears as preaching the doctrine of the four Gospels; which is indicated, by the evangelical emblems placed round him;—by the book in one hand;—and by the other being lifted up in the attitude of a preacher;—and by an hand pointing down from the clouds above, over his head, as directing him;—which, as well as the radiation round his head, seems to denote his mission, and office.

Over the arch that separates the chancel from the Church, is an outward arched ornament; which, like that at Barfreton, is terminated by an head, or mask, *only at one end*.—And the arch underneath, as well as some of the other arches, is in the most fanciful, and most strange manner, formed of the parts of two or three circles conjoined. Whilst the whole vaulting is very low, being not more than twelve feet in height.

Very similar to this, also, is the south door of *Siddington** Church in the same county, with a strange *head moulding*; and having a semicircular stone filling up the arch, and supported from the ground, on which seems to be represented the figure of St. Peter, holding a key, and in the attitude of preaching; with two auditors, one sitting, and one kneeling.

The *over-lapping, head moulding*, with the strange irregular variation, of almost every head; and the *twisted moulding*, in this arch, are also most remarkable.

Very remarkable also, is *South Cerney* Church.†—The distinction of the parishes of *Cerney*, as being of considerable note in the most early days, appears from Domesday Book.—In *North Cerney*, the Monastery of St. Oswald, at Gloucester, held a manor in the reign of Edward the Confessor; manifestly even at that time an antient possession.—And in *South Cerney*, four manors were then held by different persons.‡

* It is represented in Mr. Lysons's *Antiquities*, Pl. XXXVIII. No.

† Its door is represented by Mr. Lysons, Pl. XLIV.

‡ Atkyn's *Gloucestershire*, p. 169.

In no place, therefore, was a Church more likely to have been built in the earliest period, in compliance with Archbishop *Theodore's* admonitions* to Lords of Manors, than here.

The side pillars have ornaments of alternate projecting stonework, forming a *curb*, or *lapping moulding*.—And the strange rude heads of the *head moulding* are varied, so as to avoid any perfect similarity throughout: whilst the ornaments of the other arches have the utmost *Saxon* peculiarity of style, and one of them has a *scribbled moulding*.†

Much of the same sort, and at least deserving just to be mentioned in this place, is an antient north door, of the original *Saxon* part of the Church of *Lullington*, in Somersetshire.—A moulding of grotesque heads,—a zigzag moulding,—and an inner broad moulding of a sort of medallions, or grotesque figures in round compartments,—compose the broad ornamented arch, resting on a transom stone; on the face whereof are emblematical figures.—And it is odd enough, that over the whole, are two segments of a circular moulding, rising to a great height, to admit space for a nich, with the figures of a Virgin and Child, which segments might almost be considered as forming a regular *pointed arch*.‡

It deserves some notice also, that on pulling down the Town Gaol at Leicester, in 1792, a part of whose walls had originally been the remains of the exceeding antient *Saxon* Church of St. John the Evangelist, known to have been situated on this spot, a fragment of the arch, over the entrance into the nave, was discovered, whose projection on each side beyond the pillars of support, (which stand quite inward, with respect to the

* See Bede, Ed. Wheelock, p. 399. The encouragement given by Archbishop *Theodore* to the great personages of his age, to build Parish Churches; by expressly declaring that they, and their Successors, should become *continually Patrons* of such Churches, seems to have been the first origin of *Advowsons*, and of *Lay Presentations*, in this Country.

† Some very curious representations, of the *Norman* parts of South Cerney Church, may be seen amongst Mr. Lysons's curious Etchings, Pl. VII. XXV. XXXIV. with a view of the Church, in Pl. XXIV.

‡ A slight sketch of the whole may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXIV. p. 893.

ornaments of the arch,*) does still further shew how peculiar this mode of placing the side pillars of support was to the early *Saxon* times.

At *Tetsworth*, in Oxfordshire, is another small Church; whose south door of entrance is ornamented with the same kind of simple devices, that have been named as peculiarly *Saxon*.

It has been represented, and described by Mr. *Thorpe*;† but I find myself under a necessity, for many reasons, of differing totally from him, as to its being of *Norman* construction;—first, because there are none of those indented zigzag mouldings in the arch, so very peculiar to the *Normans*;—in the next place, because what ornaments there are, do so very much resemble (as Mr. *Thorpe* fairly acknowledges) those at *Ifley*;—because also the Church is so small; which is exactly in conformity with the dimensions of those other *Saxon* Churches, that there is reason to think were built about the time of *Theodore*;—because, next to Kent, Oxfordshire is surely, of all others, a County in which we may conclude the earliest *Saxon* Churches to have been built:—and lastly; because, in true *Norman* buildings, the transom stone filling up the arch, very rarely, if ever, appears.

The device, at *Tetsworth*, also, on the transom stone filling up the arch, has that plain simplicity, which marks the early *Saxon* allegorical representations.

For upon it is carved the figure of a Bishop, lifting up his right hand, in the attitude of preaching, rather than of blessing; and having his left placed just below his breast, with the crozier held in an easy inclined manner.—Not like one giving a presumptuous benediction; but like one resting the crozier, so as to be out of his way, whilst he was speaking.—And on the other side of this flat transom stone, is carved a figure, that *might possibly* be designed (as Mr. *Thorpe* suggests,) to represent a *Priest*: but which may just as well, or rather better, be deemed to have been designed for a figure of a Layman; the Patron, and builder

* A slight representation of it may be seen in the 62d Volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 1079, fig. 2.

† In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790, p. 17, Pl. II.

of the Church; pointing with his hand up to a third figure, placed in a circle *above* them; which was plainly meant to be an *emblematical* figure of *the Lamb, slain to take away the sins of the world*; according to the words of St. John,* and in conformity with the apocalyptical emblem.

The whole therefore, without any purpose of placing *figures* as objects of idolatrous worship,† seems merely to have been intended to describe the office of a faithful Preacher, such as was designed to declare, within that Church, the great deliverance, through *the Prophetical, Paschal Lamb, slain to take away the sins of the world*; and the furtherance of that doctrine; by the Patrons holding up his hand, and pointing to the Prophetical Emblem, (as wishing to encourage the blessed work);—seeking salvation to his neighbours, and dependants, through hope, and reliance on the *spiritual Lamb,—The Great Redeemer, the Lion of the tribe of Judah;‡ THE MESSIAH; who hath given His Life a ransom for many; and who hath Life in himself;§ and power to give Life to as many as it pleases Him, according to the Will of THE FATHER.*—Which blessed, and only true doctrine, was the leading one enforced in the earliest times. And the whole honest emblematical device, may surely be allowed, in an age, when letters were little understood, to have implied simply this admonition:—*Hear, I*

* See John, ch. i. ver. 29, 36.—Revelations, ch. v. ver. 6.

† It is a just observation made by Hume, Vol. I. p. 45, that *Image Worship* never prevailed amongst Christians, till it had received the sanction of the second Council of Nice, which was about A. D. 787.—This was unquestionably some time *after* the building of *Theodore's Churches*.—But after all that can possibly be said, for the plain good intention of those who invented these emblematical ornamental devices, on religious buildings, for the sake of a little ænigmatical instruction, by means of rudely sculptured *figures*, in an age when few understood the use of letters; it must be confessed, that such sculptures were too soon, and too generally misunderstood, by the ignorant multitude; and perverted to the purpose of promoting a reverence for, and even the worshipping of Images;—in an age, when blindness, and darkness prevailed; and was by artful, interested imposition, daily gaining ground on the human mind:—and when cloystered simplicity of heart, was made the tool of domineering tyranny, both in Church, and State.

‡ Revelations, ch. v. ver. 5.

§ John, ch. v. ver. 26.—ch. xvii. ver. 2.

pray you, the words of eternal life, to be spoken, and made known, in this building.

There is a Church at *Kilpe*, in Herefordshire, which seems to deserve attention, in order to illustrate this subject; but not having been able to examine it myself, I will not venture to say any thing further, than merely to point it out.

And at *Shobdon*, in the same county, is another, that ought not to be passed over in silence;—because, though it is said to have been built only about 1140, by *Oliver de Merlymond*, yet he was called improving, and beautifying, and enlarging the Church; about forty years ago, there were removed out of it, into Lord Bateman's Park, at Shobdon Court, where they still remain, three most beautiful arches, which deserve much attention, as illustrating *Saxon* Architecture;—for if they were not really *Saxon*, and prior to Merlymond's building, they are the most remarkable instances of an imitation of the true *Saxon* style, in the *Norman* age, of any that I know of.—There being such a studied and careful difference of the capitals of the pillars; and such a careful variation of the ornaments on each side the arch.

This is shewn in Pl. VII.

And, in like manner, are added, in Pl. VIII. fig. 1 and 2, representations of two of the four pillars that supported this arch, whose ornaments, in the corresponding pillars, were as designedly varied;—whilst these two very pillars were placed one on each side, as if to answer each other.

The other two flat semicircular stones, shewn in this Plate, (fig. 3 and 4,) had been formerly placed within two of the three arches, in the original *Saxon* manner.†

On one seems to have been the rude representation of the

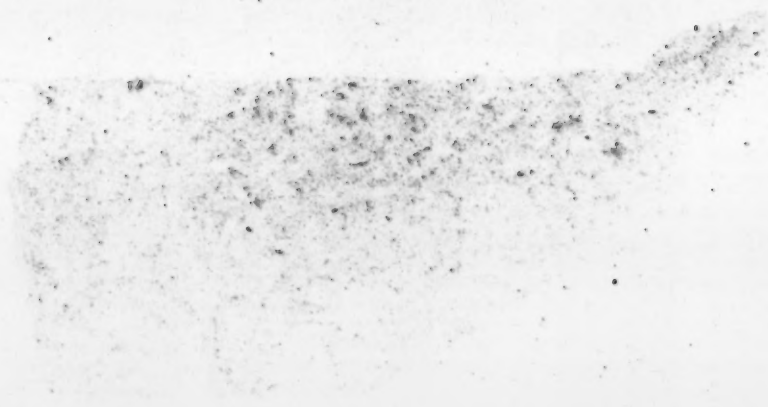
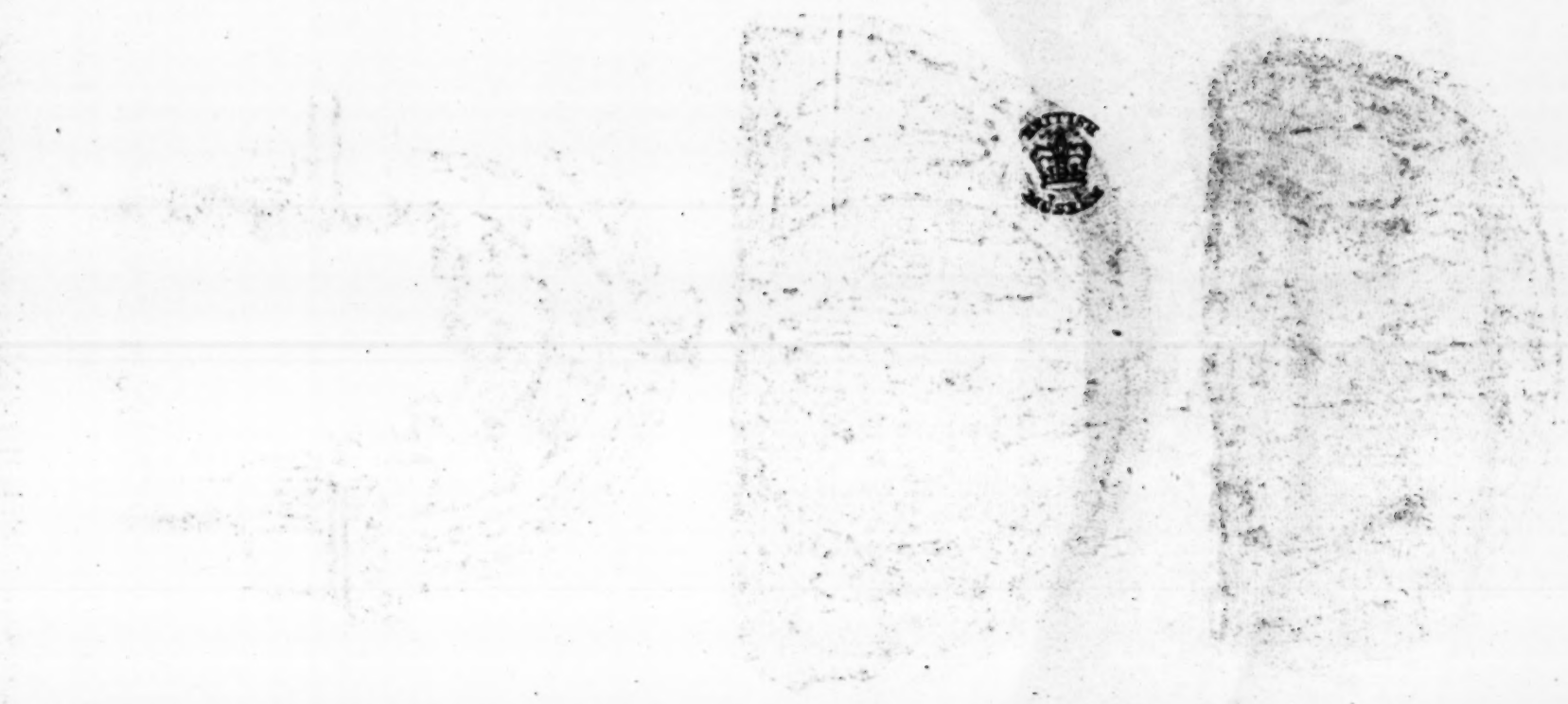
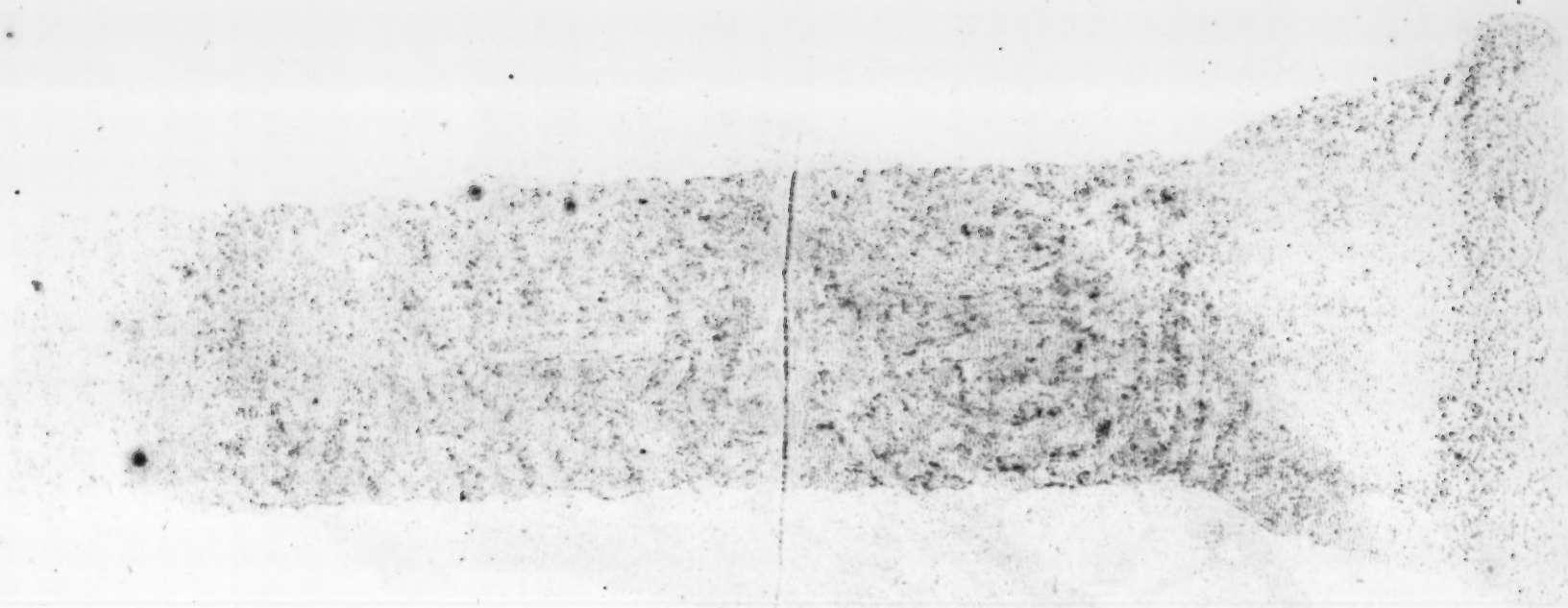
* See Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 442, 443; and there is a slight sketch of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789, p. 781.

† Gough's Camden, Vol. II. p. 457.

‡ For these exact representations of a part of the remains at *Shobdon*, I am indebted to the ingenious Mr. Wood; from whose indefatigable pains in searching after Antiquities, and from whose faithful accounts, and delineations of them, on an exceeding large scale, I am persuaded the curious will soon receive very great satisfaction.



AT SHOBDON in HEREFORDSHIRE





J. G. Wood del.

Fig. 3

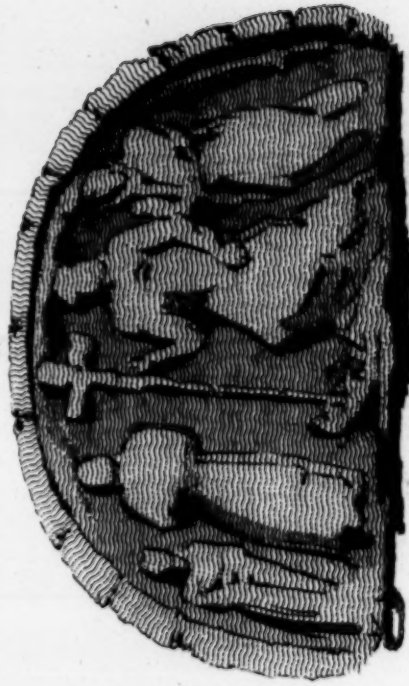


Fig. 4

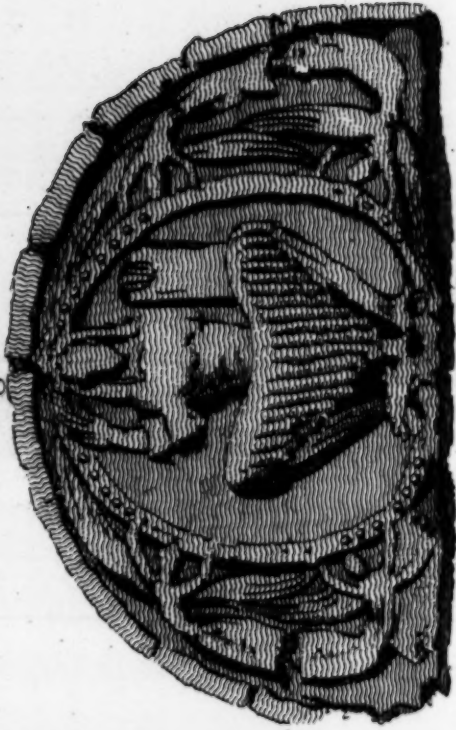
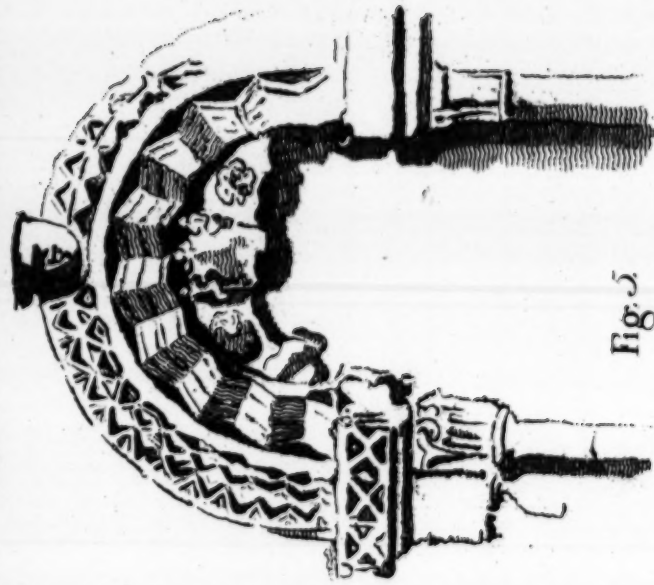


Fig. 5



Remains of SHOBDON in HEREFORDSHIRE



W. B. Norton sculp.



arrival of some Bishop, with his attendant to preach the Gospel :—on the other, as rude a representation of a Bishop, or Patron Saint, sitting, and preaching, with a book resting on one knee.

And whilst we are mentioning remains of original *Saxon Parish Churches* ; we ought not to pass by entirely unnoticed, the beautiful little door-way, with its transom stone, once existing in *the Chancel* of Sempringham Church, in Lincolnshire ; which Chancel was probably originally *the whole* of the Parish Church. The capitals of its innermost pillars stand far within the extent of the transom stone.—And its outermost arch above, reaches far beyond the capitals of its outermost pillars.*

There is also a very curious Saxon arch, between the nave, and the chancel, of *Tickencote Church*,† in Rutlandshire.—Doctor Stukeley was convinced that this Church was one of the most venerable extant, and that it was unquestionably of the age of *Peada*, the founder of Peterborough Abbey, about the year 654 ;—and indeed the style of Architecture well corresponds with that of the age of the Archbishops *Theodore*, and *Honorius*.

It is certainly very reasonable to conclude, consistently with all the preceding remarks, and with other facts which we have been investigating ; that there should be found, on the neighbouring Continent, *some* remains of very antient Churches, of small dimensions, and of a style of Architecture somewhat similar to these *Saxon* edifices, of the age of Archbishop *Theodore* :—and accordingly we do actually find, one in particular, amongst others,

* There is a drawing of it engraved, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, Vol. LXI. p. 906.

† It is represented by Doctor Ducarel in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, Pl. xiii. p. 101.

It is also represented by Doctor Stukeley, Itin. II. 62.

And from his Work, there are some representations of its arches, in Mr. Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. Pl. v. p. 223.

There is a view also of the east end in Mr. Carter's Ancient Architecture, Pl. xxiii. fig. 50.

And some other specimens of this kind may be seen delineated in Mr. Carter's Architecture ;—particularly of a *Saxon* doorway in the Church of *Axminster*, in Devonshire ;—and of one at *Essondine Church*, near Stamford in Lincolnshire. Pl. xx. fig. A and E.—And of one at Rumsey, in Hampshire, Pl. xxxi. fig. D.

mentioned by Dr. Ducarel, in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*,* at *Caen*; called the Chapel of *St. Thomas L'Abbatu*; (which Monsieur Huet says was built *de temps immemorial*), in which the arches of the doors are circular; and both richly, and oddly ornamented in a grotesque manner; having the spaces of the arches filled up with flat stone work, over the doors, somewhat like transom stones, supported on each side by other stone work from the ground.—Within this Chapel, also, the capitals of the pillars consist of fantastic figures, of strange, imaginary animals, allegorically designed; much like those of our really *Saxon* capitals.—And the capitals of the pillars of the doors are equally fantastic; and *carefully varied*; made each one different from that of the pillar, on the opposite side;†—But yet there is a very discernible difference in some points, and particularly in the *tops* of the doors, between these, and the remains of *Saxon arches* in England.

And the same thing may be said concerning such as somewhat resemble *Saxon arches*, in *Egypt*;—whereof Pococke has given us a specimen of one at *Cairo*.‡

It is certainly true that these, as well as some mentioned by Mr. Ledwich§ to have been represented in a *Syriac MSS.* of the Evangelists, written A. D. 586, and as well as some odd arches in *Persia*, of which Mr. Ledwich seems not to have been aware,|| were all (equally with the *Saxon*) only fantastic, rude imitations of *Roman arches*; but whoever compares the several specimens together, will perceive in them a decided difference from the original *Saxon arches* of this country.

Even in the *Roman arches* of the time of *Constantine*, and of the Lower Empire, there was a degree of *deviation* from the elegance of the *Roman arch* of the time of the Antonines; but yet nothing like the *Saxon deviation*.—This will appear to any one who con-

* P. 75, Pl. vii.

† A view of the south front also is given by Dr. Ducarel, in his *Norman Antiquities*, Pl. vii.

‡ It is represented by Pococke, Vol. I. p. 32, Pl. xiii. B.

§ In the *Archæologia*, Vol. VIII. p. 170, Pl. xiii.

|| Specimens of these may be seen in *Chardin's Travels*, Vol. I. p. 152, Pl. viii.—p. 154, Pl. ix.—p. 207, Pl. xv.—p. 211, Pl. xvi.—Vol. III. p. 27, Pl. xxxviii.

siders the faithful representations we have of the arches in the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, built by the Empress *Helena* ;*—of the Church of St. Paul at Rome ;†—and of the Gates of Constantinople,‡ such as they remain, with the mutilations, and alterations made by the Turks ;—and it may serve to convince us, that the very beautiful, though so strangely fantastic ornaments of the truly *Saxon* Architecture, (which, notwithstanding their being so overloaded with ornament, and put together in so strange a manner, have a wonderful fine effect,) were truly an *English Invention* ; and that this style of Architecture, took its rise from ingenuity, consequent upon *monastick leisure*, in this very Island.

Leaving then the consideration of the *small* Churches, built for the use of Parishes, which true piety, in the time of *Theodore*, caused to be erected ; let us now proceed, to consider the buildings immediately following, of a more magnificent kind, and on a larger scale.

One of the first of these that presents itself, is at *Pershore*, in *Worcestershire*.

The *Monastery* at *Pershore*, we are told,§ was founded, about the year 680, by Duke *Oswald*, Nephew to King *Athelred*, and it appears to have continued entirely subject to the *Lay Government* of his family, for some years.—We find one of his descendants, Duke *Delfere*, first of all, without scruple, even resuming, and usurping some of its possessions.—And when he had come to a miserable end, we find his son and heir, *Odda*, afterwards restoring those possessions ; and himself, with deep sorrow for what his father had done, vowing celibacy.

Oswald, had placed *Secular Priests* here at first, merely as resident Religious Persons, to preach, and teach in the neighbourhood :—but on this subsequent event, *Monks* seem to have been

* This appears both from *Pococke's Account, and Representation*, Vol. II. p. 16, Pl. IV. ; and also from a singularly curious model, made on the spot, about the beginning of the last century, by a skillful *Italian* ; and which was given to me by a friend, many years ago.

† See *Piranesi*.—*Le Magnificenze di Roma*, Vol. I. Pl. xxv.

‡ See the engravings in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIV. Pl. xlii, xliv. p. 239, 241.

§ See *Dugdale's Monasticon*, p. 203, 204.

placed here, by the penitent *Odda*.—Afterwards *Secular Canons* were restored to inhabit it again.—And lastly, in the time of King *Edgar*, the *Monks* finally prevailed.

The Monastery was then burnt.—But the walls of the Church, both within, and without, still plainly shew the most curious remains of the truly *Saxon* building; notwithstanding the fine additional arches, and windows, of the age of King *Stephen*; and notwithstanding many subsequent alterations: and even in defiance of the exceeding injury the whole has received by white-wash, and by most injudicious repairs, made since the time when the sketches, here engraved, were taken, with the most cautious accuracy, in the year 1788.

It must have been about the year 970, that *Egelward*, (whom Dugdale calls Duke of Dorsetshire,) in the time of King *Edgar*, settled the Benedictine Monks in this place, and became so great a Benefactor, that he is even named as a Founder of it.*—And at that time it was probably, that the great Tower was first reared, together with some of those more antient parts which we shall now describe;—and that the transepts, or cross isles, were added.

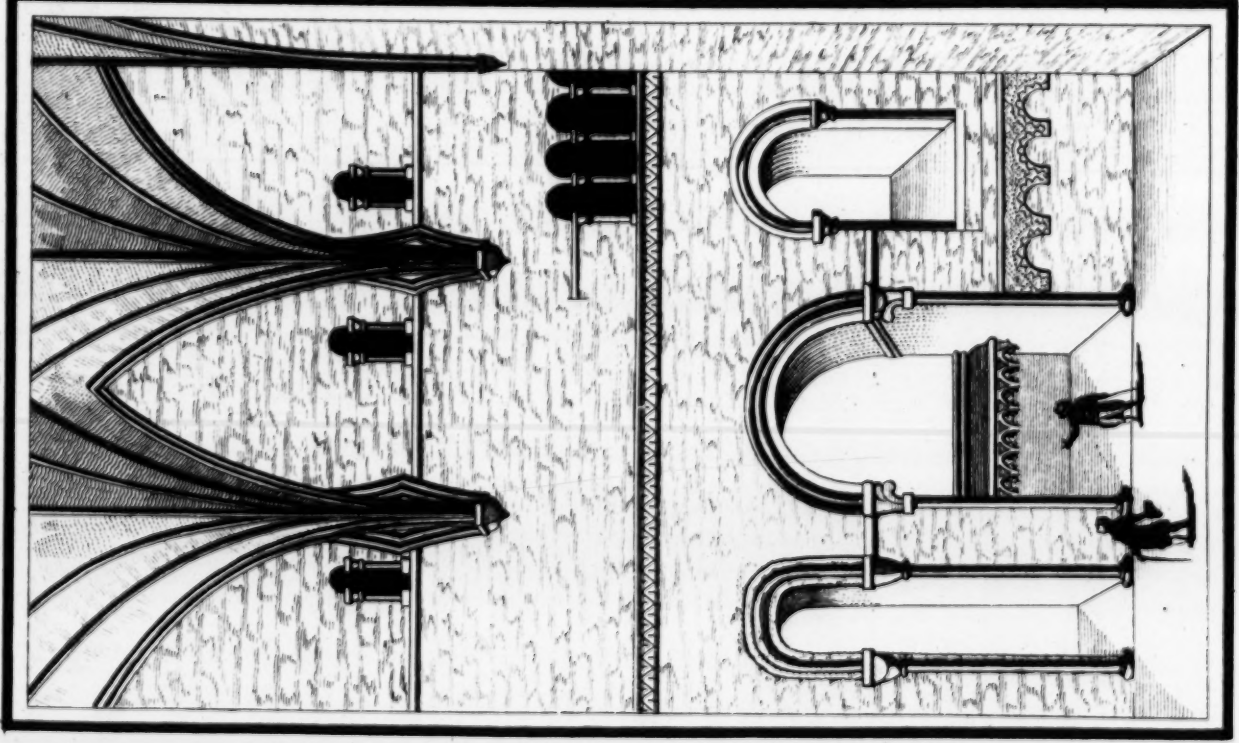
Pl. IX. fig. 1, represents the east wall, of the inside of the south transept, at Pershore.

At the bottom, on the right hand, appear a row of arches, or sort of *corbel table*, a very little projecting from the wall; under which seems to have been placed a bench, or seat; and over which are a kind of mosaic ornaments, almost merely scratched, or engraved on the flat wall; with so little relief, that since I saw them they are quite choaked up, and spoiled by the white-wash; which may, however, help in the end still longer to preserve them.—They are exactly copied, Pl. X. No. 1, fig. 1.—The same work being repeated precisely, in the same manner, over every arch.—And they are manifestly of such a kind, that one would take them rather to have been meant for a Lady's pattern for needle-work, than for an Architect's design in building.

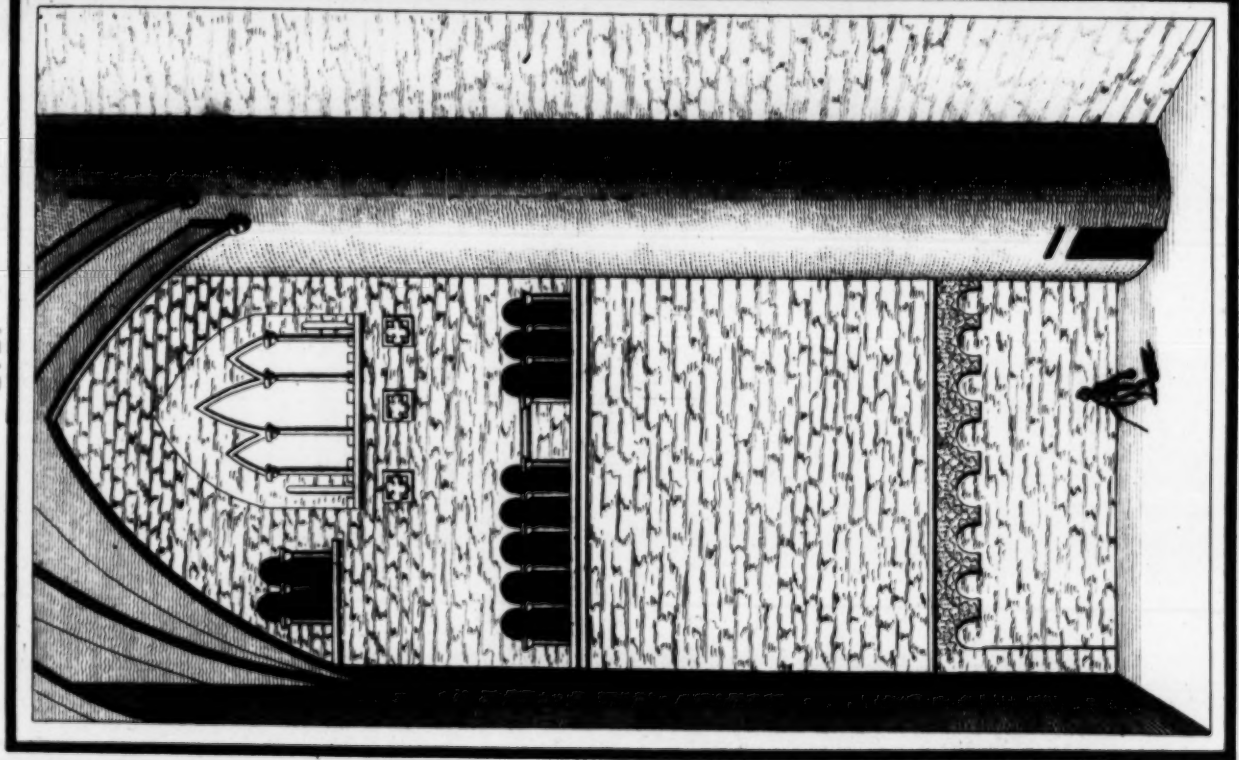
Just over these arches, Pl. IX. fig. 1, appears a well-turned

* Will. Malmesb. fol. 162, a. n. 40.

F. 1.



F. 2.



Arches at Pershore, Worcestershire.

Saxon arch for a window ;—and near to them, on the left, is one much larger ; under which seems to have stood an altar, with some ornamental work added in later Norman times ;—and still more on the left, is one of those strange capricious irregularities, sometimes found in *Saxon* Architecture.—An arch, that does not deserve the name of an arch ;—narrow ;—and as nearly as possible of the strange form here delineated ;—having also odd preposterous mouldings, and as odd capitals.—Above all these arches is seen, on the flat wall, a *Saxon* freeze ; upon which stand, in a most irregular manner, a few *small* *Saxon* arches, of a kind that are uniformly found in all those *earliest* *Saxon* buildings, whose walls were carried up to any considerable height, beyond that of *Theodore's* small Parish Churches.

Again ; over these, is still another rude freeze :—and upon it, again are some of these *very small* *Saxon* arches, in a still stranger manner, irregularly placed ; the capitals of the pillars of which, like those of the former, are in reality all different one from another.—But the scale of this Plate being too small to exhibit that peculiarity of their structure ; some of the capitals are shewn, more at large, in Pl. X.

As to the odd trusses, and the springings of the stone vaulted roof, with pointed arches ; they are obviously of an age very much subsequent to that of this old *Saxon* wall, on which they rest, and which was most undoubtedly, originally, covered simply with a flat timber roof.

Pl. IX. fig. 2, shews the inside wall of the south end of this south transept.—In which again appear, first, at the bottom, a row of arches, ornamented exactly like those before described ;—then a freeze ; or rather a narrow moulding over them ;—then a blank space ;—and then, above, a second moulding.—Upon this is a row of little irregular arches, of disproportioned dimensions, as here shewn ; and just as irregularly placed, as in this sketch.—The capitals also of all their pillars, are every one varied :—and some of these odd varieties are represented, as nearly as possible, on a larger scale, Pl. X. fig. 2, 3, 4, 5.—Whilst at fig. 6 is shewn one of the capitals of the parts built in

the body of the Church in King *Stephen's* time, to shew how exceedingly different the old *Saxon* Architecture was from the *Norman*.

High above this first row of little irregular arches, was a second *Saxon* moulding: and, upon this, other little irregular arches.—And it should be remarked, that behind all these small arches, in every part, was a space, appearing like a gallery in the wall, though it often led to no sort of continued passage either way.

This upper row of arches, in this south wall of the transept, has obviously been broken in upon, and cut away, to make room for a pointed window, of the age of King *Stephen*;—which, when I saw it in 1788, had all its fine and beautiful slender pillars, and pointed arches, perfectly remaining; and so also they were again in 1789.—But, when I last viewed it, in 1790, it was totally spoiled, by having the light stone pillars partly taken down; and partly covered over with brick; so that it is become now, only an ugly piece of modern patch work.

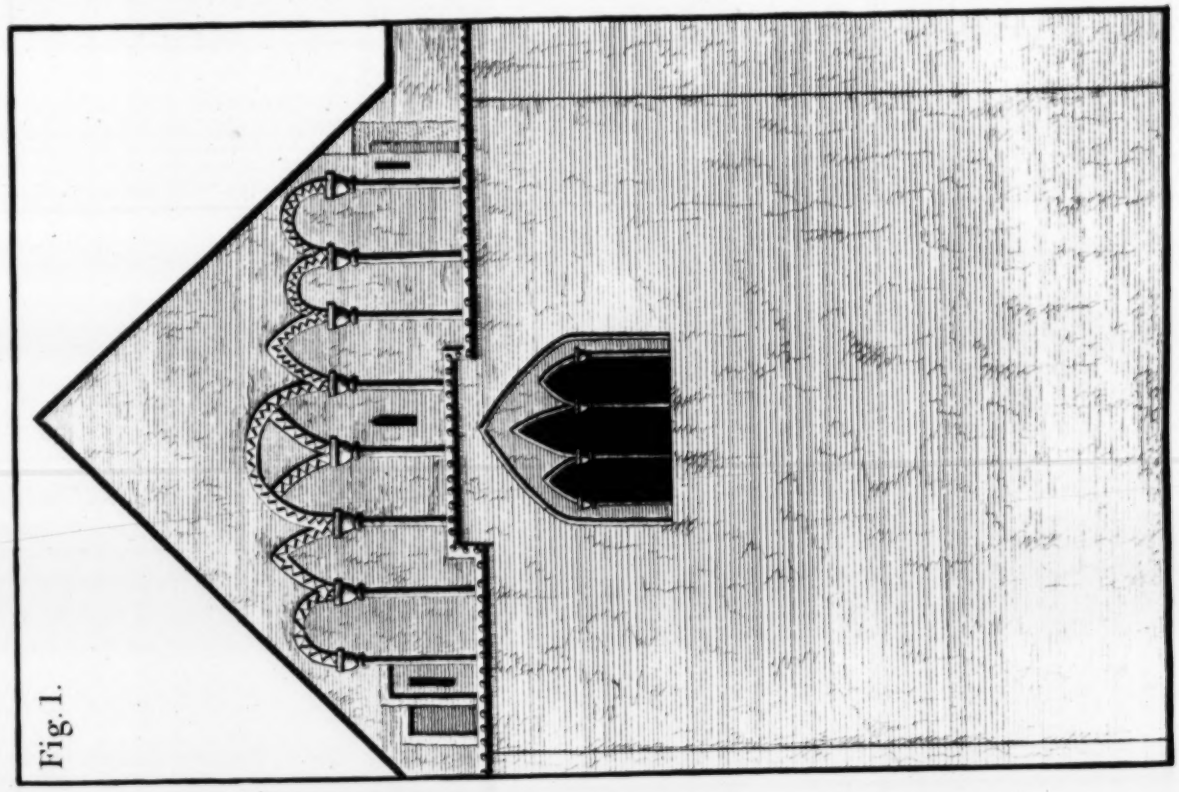
On the right hand, appears a most remarkable little turret stair-case; built *within* the building, instead of being, (as was always the case in *Norman* buildings,) either within the wall itself, or on the *outside*.

And the great antiquity of this turret stair-case, prior to the stone vaulted roof, appears from the odd manner in which the vaultings of the stone pointed roof are made to rest against it.—Of the age and date of these sort of pointed stone roofs, more shall be said hereafter.

Pl. XI. fig. 1, shews the truly most characteristical appearance of the outside of the old *Saxon* end of the transept at Pershore;—with all its obvious alterations.—First appears the window, with its pointed arches, inserted in the age of King *Stephen*. And then, above, appear the original *Saxon*, *dissimilar*, irregular, ornamental arches *in relief*, upon the flat wall,* with some of the original

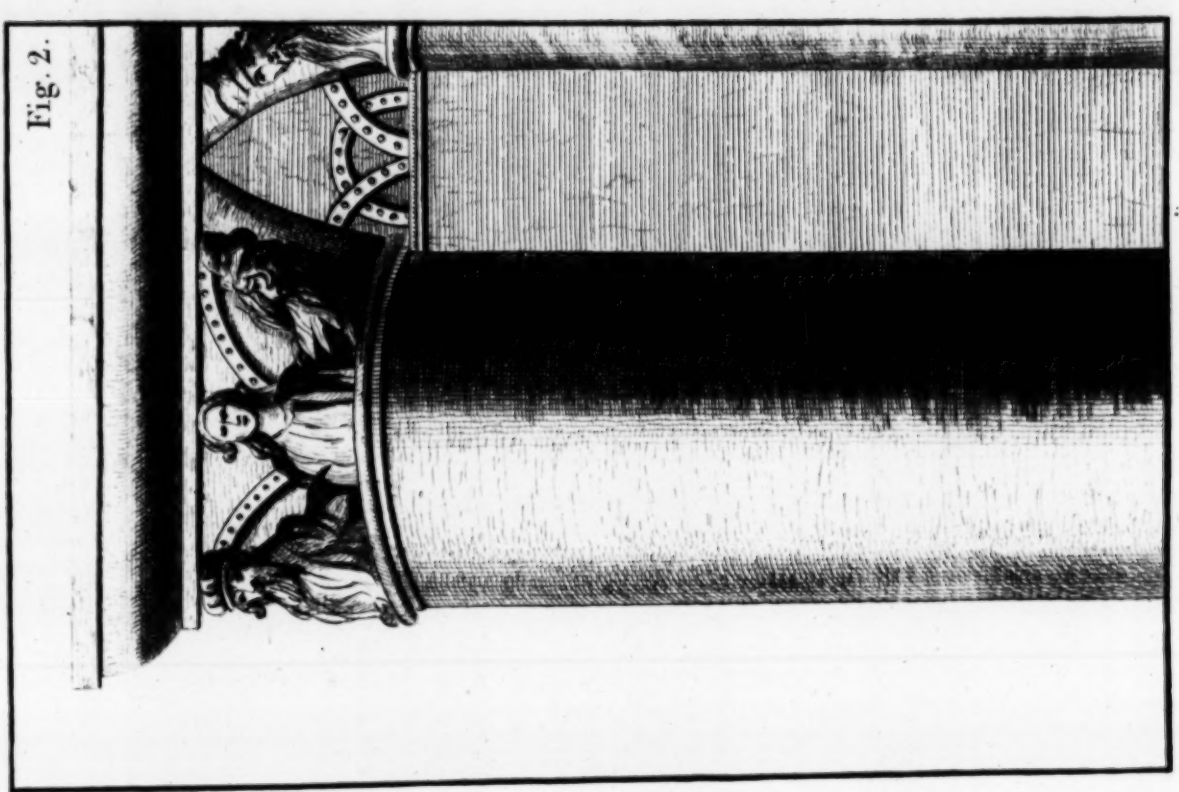
* The irregularity of the width of these arches, is nicely observed in this engraving, and in the original drawing; and deserves to be most particularly attended to; as being to be numbered amongst the characteristick marks of the early *Saxon* Architecture.

Fig. 1.



A. J. Smith

Fig. 2.



A. J. Smith

Remains at Pershore.
Published on the 14th March 1841 by the Rev. J. H. Sturt, of Pershore.



narrow loops;—and with two pointed intervening arches, intermixed with them, which might possibly have been added, by way of repair, when the window beneath was inserted;—or may possibly deserve to be named with the few other instances of the *pointed arch*, sometimes appearing in *Saxon* buildings, long before it was brought into common use by the Normans;—but which most probably were merely formed, by the *intersection* of real circular arches as large as that now remaining in the midst, but of which parts are broken off, and obliterated from the wall.

Pl. XI. fig. 2, shews a still more curious remain;—a capital of one of those pillars, of the antient building, on which the original tower seems to have been raised, in the time of King Edgar; which is composed, in the most odd, and yet in the most ingenious manner, (as is the next pillar near adjoining,) of figures, in the whole groupe representing the history of the trial of *Susanna*, before *Daniel*.

In the midst of this first capital, is plainly seen the figure of a woman; and, on each side, are those of two very ill-looking men, in robes of distinction, holding her; and presenting her for judgment;—and as accusing her.—Whilst, on the other side of the next capital adjoining, appears an head, as of a discerning judge, seeming to have been intended to represent *Daniel*.

I am sorry to be obliged to add, that these figures are now much spoiled, and defaced, by white-wash, since I saw them, and since I had these accurate sketches taken of them.*

* It may perhaps be not uninteresting to add, that a capital of somewhat a similar kind, was dug up, in 1785, from beneath the floor of the antient Monastery of *White Ladies*, near *Tong Castle*, in Shropshire.—This capital was formed of three heads conjoined in one, carved in stone: the middle one of which has strong masculine old features, whilst the two side ones express youth, and much feminine softness.†—Whatever it was meant to represent, such sort of oddly devised capitals we may hereby perceive were certainly in early use: and in truth they were not merely confined, in those barbarous ages, to the *Saxons* in this country; but such wildness of fancy seems also to have been introduced by the religious abroad; even in the regions where *Roman Art* itself once had the firmest establishment; for we find a specimen of a capital, composed

† There is a drawing of it engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785, Vol. LV. p. 89, fig. 2.

All these decided remains of *Saxon* Architecture, at *Pershore*; and the certainty of the fatal event, (that soon after the establishment of the *Benedictines* here, in the time of King *Edgar*, the Monastery was burnt down, and its possessions greatly alienated,) do clearly fix the period of the construction of these walls, to an early *Saxon* age.

Whilst, at the same time that it is evident, from their peculiar style of Architecture, that they could not be built in *Norman* times; it is as evident also, that they have survived the fire, and supposed destruction of the whole Monastery; just in the same manner as the strong walls of several Castles have evidently remained, after what has been called their entire demolition.

In Dugdale's *Monasticon*, are still preserved, the depositions of the Prior, Sub-prior, five Monks, and nine other witnesses, making out the rights of the Abbey, after the fire had destroyed their archives.*

And this idea of its great *Saxon* Antiquity, is somewhat confirmed, by there having been dug up, a few years ago, at *Pershore*, a

of the heads of women, and of cornucopiae, that is described as being preserved in the Church of St. *Cæcilia*, at *Verona*. See Panvinii *Antiquitates Veronensium*, p. 100.

It may also be mentioned, on this occasion, that in the celebrated Island of *Iona*, amongst the Hebrides, where *Columba* had formed a religious establishment soon after 565, and where Boethius says *Malduinus* built a new Church, in the seventh century, that in that Church are still found pillars, only nine feet eight inches high, including the capitals; whilst they are eight feet nine inches in circumference; pillars evidently as old as the first Church, though they indeed now have had pointed arches built upon them, which were added in later ages, in lieu of the more antient circular ones; and that on these pillars, the capitals are all varied; and consist of several hieroglyphical, and historical fancied figures;—amongst which is that, of *an angel weighing souls, in a pair of scales*;—a device that seems to have been offered to the imagination, even in the very earliest ages of the world; since we find something like it, on the coffin of a mummy, in the British Museum. See Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 253, 254.

Some sort of example was afforded, for a strange kind of deviation from the more perfect rules of Architecture, with regard to *Capitals*, even in the age of *Augustus*; for the ingenious Mr. *Reveley* brought home a very curious drawing of the capital of a pillar, standing at *Brundisium*, in Italy, that belonged to a light-house; which pillar had the credit of being erected by *Augustus*; and whose capital was composed of figures of syrens, and tritons.

* Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 205, 206, 207, 208.

singularly odd, small ornament of brass, with a sort of fillagree work:—a little less than two inches square, and four inches high; resembling a sort of rude dome; with odd rude heads of serpents, and of other kinds of animals, intermixed with the interlacing of the fillagree; with some round Saxon arches also, as a lower border; and with a rude *Saxon* inscription just over them.—It is hollow, and has at the four corners beneath, four little pendant flaps, with holes, as if to nail it upon some staff. And it seems, therefore, either to have been the head of a thick pastoral staff;* or else of the top corner of a chair.—And in either case, is such a kind of antient badge, as may well be deemed, because of the curious workmanship, to have belonged to some Dignitary, residing in the very antient religious House at Pershore.—It has already been mentioned,† that some of the *Saxons*, in King *Alfred's* time, were well skilled in goldsmith's work.‡

In this, as in many other buildings, it is curious to contrast the

* See a representation and description of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1779, Vol. XLIX. p. 537.

† See p. 65 of this Volume.

‡ The great antiquity of this Monastery is also apparent, from a strange monkish, legendary tale; which both shews the attachment of the Benedictines to *Dunstan*, and to *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, (the colleague of *Dunstan*, on the first introduction of the celibacy of the Clergy, and of strict monastick vows;) and marks the features of those times of darkness, and ignorance.

A monk named *Floberht*, who had been appointed Abbot of *Pershore*, and was known to be of a very *indifferent* character, fell sick, and apparently died;—but when all the monks of his own Monastery, with *Germanus*, Abbot of *Winchelcomb*, and many others, were standing about his corpse, he suddenly, to their utter amazement, raised himself up; and looked around him.—And, when all were fled with terror, except *Germanus*; who asked him what had brought him back to life? and what he had seen?—He told him, that he had been carried into heaven by St. *Benedict*; and that his sins had been forgiven him, for the merits of the beloved *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester: and that he was sent back to acquaint the world, that *Oswald* was one of the greatest saints that ever lived.—And being further asked, how *Benedict* appeared in heaven, and in what garb?—he said, he appeared most beautiful, and the most nobly clad of any saint; shining with precious stones; and attended by innumerable multitudes of monks, and nuns, all most beautiful.†

This *Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester, in the time of *Edgar*, about 969, and *Ethelwald*,

† See *Anglia Sacra*. Tom. II. p. 201.

Saxon part, with the *Norman*.—The addition of the *Norman* trusses, and of the *Norman* roof;—and the insertion of the *Norman* window with pointed arches, in the south end of the south transept; have been already mentioned.—And Pl. XII. fig. 1, represents one of the windows on the north side of the body of the Church.—This part of the structure appears to have been entirely rebuilt, about the time of King Stephen, and is nearly as beautiful as the Temple Church at London.—The two middle pillars of the window, are *cluster pillars*; but the two outward ones are not.—The light of the window is of that very narrow *lancet sort*, which was so frequently adopted in that age, on account of the scarcity of glass.—And the capital of one of the pillars is shewn, on a larger scale, Pl. X. No. 1, fig. 6.—The trusses to support the roof are extremely light, and elegant, and have here nearly the same capitals; but it is remarkable that all the capitals both of the trusses, and of the pillars of the windows, are more varied in this Church, than is usual in most of the structures of King Stephen's time.

The outside of a part of this beautiful structure, with the outside of this window, and of the next equally narrow lancet window adjoining to it;—and with the beautiful ornament of the *corbel table cornish*, ranging along over all the windows, is shewn in the same Plate, fig. 2;—which being upon so large a scale,

Bishop of Winchester, and *Dunstan*, Archbishop of Canterbury, were the *three* great champions,† who introduced rigid monastick vows, and *celibacy* into England.

They were all three made saints for their pains; and there is one thing, and one thing only, which may be said, in historical pages, in their excuse: which is, that the lives of many of the *Secular Clergy*, in those barbarous times of ignorance, and brutal ferocity, were probably become so grossly indecent, and so savage, in compliance with the manners of the times, that this sort of religious sequestration, abstemiousness, and discipline, might but too easily be thought, by serious well-meaning minds, to be one of the best, or at least one of the readiest means of working reformation.

This idea is confirmed by the topics of *Dunstan's* harangues: by many passages in *Bede*: and by the complaints that were made by *Gildas*, in a preceding age, of the irregular conduct of the Clergy ‡.

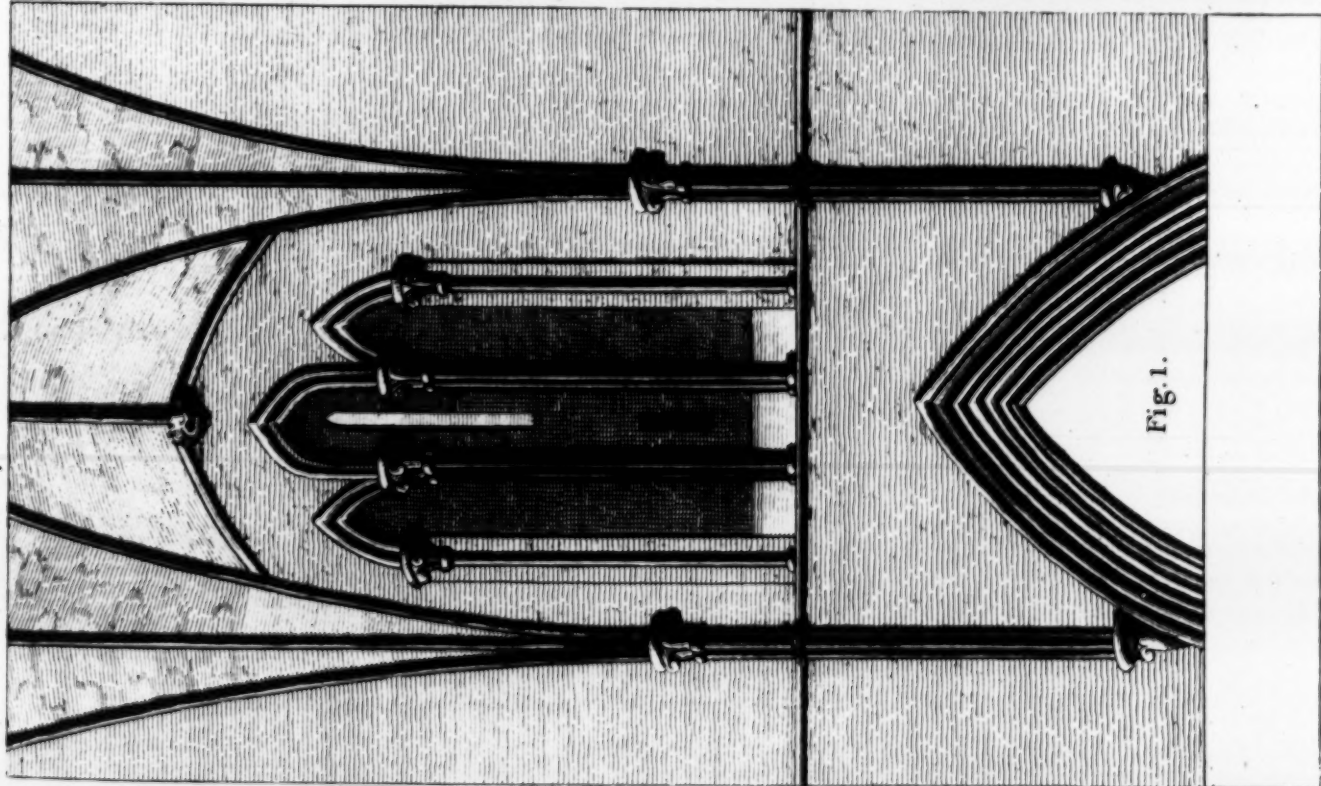
† Hoveden Annal, ad Ann. 969.

‡ See Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 478. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. i. ca. 14, &c. Gildæ Hist. ca. 16, 19, 21, &c. See also Hume, Vol. I. p. 34.

Fig. 2.



Engraved by J. Barker.



A. C. Allen.

Norman additions at Pershore.

Published as the 'Art and Architecture' Series.



could include only these two windows, and a part of the tiles of the side aisle of the Church, just beneath them.

The odd historical capitals, and the mosaic engravings in the antient Saxon stone work at *Pershore*, as well as the emblematical figures on Saxon doors, at *Barfreston*, and at other places, do almost unavoidably bring to remembrance those very antient *Fonts*, on several of which have still been preserved some of the same kind of odd, historical, and emblematical ornaments.

And indeed one, at *Alphington*, in Devonshire,* cannot but remind us of the very bands, or freezes, and mouldings at *Barfreston*.—Whilst there are others, in the curious enumeration, and representation of *Fonts*, in the *Archæologia*, and *Monumenta Antiqua*,† whose ornaments well deserve to be compared with these at *Pershore*.

—One at St. Martin's Church, near Canterbury, where Queen *Bertha* first revived Christian worship, is adorned in a more elegant manner than most of them, with interlacing arches; such as might very well, afterwards, even suggest the idea of the *pointed arch*, as well as those on the outside of the south transept at *Pershore*;—but most of them were sculptured with figures as oddly devised, as any even at *Barfreston*.

It may justly be asked, therefore, *whence* all these grotesque allegorical designs, so remote from Pagan superstition; so unlike regular architecture; and so much removed from the dignity, and propriety, of Greek, or Roman ornaments, derived their origin?—And a little reflection, may perhaps afford a clue, that will lead to a satisfactory explanation.

* Described, and well represented in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. II. p. 8.

† Amongst these,—instances particularly may be met with, at *Bridekirk*, in Cumberland, described in the *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 131, Pl. ix. and Vol. XIV. p. 113, Pl. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii.—At *East Meon*, in Hampshire,—Vol. X. p. 183, Pl. xx.—At *Sharnburn*, in Norfolk.—Vol. X. p. 186, Pl. xxiii.—At *Fincham*, in Norfolk.—Vol. X. p. 190, Pl. xxvii.—At *Thorpe Salvin*, in Yorkshire.—Vol. XII. p. 207, Pl. xlv.—And at *Winchester*, described in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. II. Pl. xxxix. xl. Nor whilst we refer to these odd Saxon sculptures on fonts, ought we to forget those remarkable Saxon historical representations, on the capitals of two of the pillars, at *Romsey*, (or *Rumsey*), in Hampshire, described in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIV. p. 136, Pl. xiv.

On the one hand, savage times, and savage manners, drove all those of the most peaceable, and naturally most ingenious dispositions, of various ranks, to seek, with eagerness, any offered rest, and leisure, for the exercise of their ingenuity, that quiet abodes, for religious retirement, seemed to afford.—And, on the other hand, the gentle manners, and dispositions of the fair sex, led them, above all others, most readily to relish the tranquillity of Christian manners, and any approaches towards civilization; whilst their natural ingenuity, led them to cultivate, with eagerness, the dawning of arts, and of science.—We find, that even the great genius of Alfred, was first roused, by means of his Mother's taking great delight in reading, and reciting poems.*—And *that*, which one of our Historians, from his disregard for Religion, intimates with a sneer, may be true, in a manner commanding the gratitude of all the best, and wisest of men;—namely, “that the fair sex had the merit of introducing the *Christian Doctrine* in almost all the *Saxon Kingdoms* of the *Heptarchy*.”†

Surely enough, they, first of all others, were glad to encourage sequestered, ingenious, peaceable associations of Christians.

Hence *Etheldrida*, about 655, with a few particular, religious, and ingenious friends, whom she herself had made choice of;‡ after a religious, though perhaps somewhat too rigid education, retired from the turbulence, and gross, offensive manners of the times, to

* Asser. p. 5. M. West. p. 167. Flor. Wigorn, p. 587. Simeon Dunelm, p. 122, 141. Brompton, p. 814. All which are referred to by Hume, Vol. I. p. 54.

† Hume, Vol. I. p. 33. And it ought not to pass unnoticed, that notwithstanding this writer's affected scorn, at *such* an introduction of Christianity; yet that he himself, *unwarily*, shews, in the very instance of King *Edwin*, with what caution, and on what solid grounds, their endeavours proceeded:—for he acknowledges (Vol. I. p. 30, citing venerable *Bede*, lib. ii. ca. 9.) that *King Edwin* took time to consider well the proposal made by *Ethelburga*, who wished him to profess himself a Christian.—That he examined the foundations of the doctrine;—held several conferences with *Paulinus*;—canvassed the arguments; considered them in council with his wisest counsellors;—retired frequently by himself to consider them;—and after serious, and long enquiry, declared in favour of CHRISTIANITY.

‡ See Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 48.

the Isle of *Ely*, her own private property: and there established a Religious Society; afterwards called a Monastery; delighting in the retiredness, and verdure of the place: and in the very deepness of the water that surrounded it as an island, and kept off savage intruders.—Delighting even in the extensiveness of the fens, which answered the same end.—And meaning to insulate herself, with a few people, more ingenious, more enlightened, more peaceable, and less noxious than the rest of the world she had been so fully acquainted with.

This *Etheldrida* was born in Suffolk, in 630:* and was the daughter of that very *Anna*, King of the East Angles, who has been already mentioned, in the account of *Orford Castle*.

From her first retirement in the Isle of *Ely*, she was drawn by her father's persuasion, to marry *Egfrid*, afterwards King of Northumberland.†

Concerning the Monkish Legends, as to her behaviour, either towards *Egfrid*, or towards her first husband, *Tonbert*,‡ surely there is little else to be said, except that the whole appears to be a most improbable monkish falshood, coined in much later days; and totally inconsistent with the rest of her conduct.—And as to what has been said, in derogation of her, concerning her whole conduct from 670, to 679; and her leaving *Egfrid*, and retiring a second time, imputing the whole to a propensity to gross superstition;—whoever will put dates together, will find no difficulty in supposing, that a very young, and very voluptuous, savage Prince, would, without great difficulty, part with a very grave, sober, pious matron, (however well disposed, and ingenious,) who was much advanced in life,—and who wished to be allowed to live a separate, quiet, and religious life; and that he himself might be the first mover, to induce her to do so.

This alone may account for the whole feigned story, without any thing of the *marvellous*: and without at all derogating from the real excellence of her character.

She appears to have been both inquisitive, and ingenious; by

* Bentham's History of *Ely*, p. 45.

† Ibid, p. 48.

‡ Ibid, p. 45, 46, 48, 49, 50.

what is said of the mode of her spending her time, at York, whilst Queen of Northumberland;—very much in conversation with persons of both sexes, who were the most eminent for piety, and ingenuity;—and especially with Bishop *Wilfrid*, to whom she gave encouragement, even particularly on account of his skill in Architecture.*

Influenced by her example, *Sexburga*, Queen of Kent;—*Ermenilda*, Queen of Mercia;—and *Werbura*, her daughter, joined her in her retirement at Ely.†

It does not appear what were the precise rules, in this Religious Society of Queen *Etheldreda's*;‡ and it is much to be doubted, whether there were originally any.—For there is the utmost reason to believe, that there were no rigid rules, belonging to any Religious Order, established, till about A. D. 950,§ in the time of *Edred*.

Hilda, the great grand-daughter of *Edwin* King of Northumberland, and aunt to *Etheldreda*, had retired, in the same manner, even before her.—And *Ebba*, aunt to King *Egfrid*, had also done the same.||

* Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 59.

† Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 57.

‡ Ibid, p. 56.

§ Osberne, p. 91.

|| Bentham's Antiquities of Ely, p. 55. In this age, when we are deluged with printing, we lose sight of the exceeding difficulty which there was in coming at science of any kind, in those early days;—and whilst with us an overwhelming torrent of literary productions, serves too often to deceive, and mislead, we can scarce apprehend, how precious *once* were the means of obtaining even the least degrees of knowledge, and information, either by entering into any society of Recluses, or by dwelling, for a time, with persons who had themselves been already instructed in a few rudiments of science.

Hence we find, a fondness for the *ascetic life*, and for religious societies, even in *St. Chrysostom*, who was no monk;—and in those other fathers, who were amongst the very first to condemn the lazy, rigid, vulgar imitations of such retired mode of life; introduced afterwards merely by monkish superstition;—and by a Church already so much corrupted, that even about A. D. 405, *Chrysostom* declared, he thought few Bishops would be saved;—and by his consequent rebukes made the whole body of the Ecclesiasticks his bitter enemies.†

† Socrates Scholasticus, lib. vi. ca. 3. Chrys. Tom. IX.—Homil. 3,—in Act Apost. p. 29.

In such ingenious Societies, therefore, as these were, formed by persons accustomed to converse with *Wilfrid* (whose travels had led him to introduce ideas of Architecture, before quite unknown to the Saxons) it is no wonder that efforts to produce

Hence also we find that love of study, contemplation, and quiet, had, even in the fourth century, led *Sylvania*, the sister of *Rufinus*, to prefer religious retirement at *Jerusalem*, to the gay enjoyments of an imperial court; where she unquestionably had an opportunity of appearing with more splendour, and command, than most of her contemporaries.—And whilst she had found acknowledged delight, in perusing repeatedly the Sacred Writings, and in following the enlarged contemplations of *Origen*,—*Gregory*,—and *Basil*,—she had the heartfelt satisfaction, of affording a *safe asylum* to the wife and daughter of *Rufinus*, who must else have perished utterly in the midst of popular commotion.†

And hence we find, that when *Pulcheria*, the sister of *Theodosius*, with his other two sisters, about A. D. 420, embraced a sequestered life, it was chiefly for the purpose of forming, with a very chosen train of damsels a pleasant retired religious community, employed in ingenious arts, and embroidery; in reading, devotion, and melodious psalmody.‡—Though, from excess of zeal, they moreover voluntarily (and perhaps to secure their privilege) devoted themselves to celibacy; adopted certain strict fasts; and renounced the vanity of dress;—and *Pulcheria*, unavoidably somewhat influenced by the increasing superstition of the times, whilst she established many societies of the same sort, for the comfort of others, gave way to imaginary dreams, admonishing her where the bones of martyrs were to be discovered.§

As a proof, however, what sort of mind it was that had sought for this kind of peaceful sequestration, and for these liberal pursuits, it is not a little remarkable, that this very *Pulcheria*, afterwards, for many years, ruled the empire almost entirely to the day of her death; and, by the wisdom she had acquired, kept it continually in greater peace, and prosperity, than it had ever enjoyed for centuries before, or than it ever enjoyed afterwards. And at last, in the fifty-first year of her age, for the support of the empire, when the crown descended to her, even married, and bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on *Marcian*, who reigned only seven years, but survived her.||

As elegant, and refined minds, very naturally sought the advantages of study, and select society; so even amongst the rougher, and more busy classes of mankind, good and contemplative minds, seeking rest, and quiet, and sick of everlasting warfare, (and of that constant din of arms, which is the bitterest disturber of deep reflection, and the sorest hinderer of the best improvements of the human soul,) as soon as any opportunity was offered, naturally sought for peaceful retired habitations themselves;—and, with true charity of heart, (well knowing that one part of mankind, in the ordinary course of things, must of necessity some how be provided for by the other), eagerly

† Vitz Patrum, p. 779, 977.

‡ Gibbon's History, Vol. V. p. 417, octavo. Sozomen, lib. ix. ca. 1, 2, 3.

§ Jortin's Remarks, Vol. IV. p. 234.

|| Theod. p. 551. Evagr. lib. ii. ca. 1, p. 275, 285. Theoph. p. 99. Chron. Alex. d. 738.

additional *architectural ornaments* should take place, even amongst these Recluse Ladies; and especially as they made it their avowed profession, to promote increase of arts, and ingenuity, jointly with the knowledge of Religion.

And as the most distinguished of those illustrious persons, who were at the head of these Societies, were unquestionably known to, and conversed both with *Honorius*, and his Successor *Theodore*, it is no wonder if, out of regard to them, some of their ingenious devices, were allowed to be introduced in some of the Churches built by the influence of those Prelates.

There is in the whole style of the freezes, bands, and mouldings, and ornamented arches, which we have been describing, such a wildness, such an astonishing, and odd kind of fancied, varied ornament, beyond any thing that ever appeared afterwards;—and yet free from the grossness, and offence of the burlesque representations, of succeeding monkish ages;—and these ornaments we find so carefully diversified, without any fixed rules, in the most whimsical, and oddly devised manner; that they resemble the old, odd varied patterns of Ladies' needle-work, (when Ladies' needle-work was the effort of untutored wandering imagination), rather than any regular architectural design.—And it is most obvious to conclude, without any far-

endeavoured that many of those who were otherwise unprovided for, should be maintained, in peaceful habitations, to watch and pray, and to seek the good of their own souls, and of all mankind; instead of being constantly maintained with arms in their hands, merely to promote war, desolation, and bloodshed, and to be the great disturbers of the world.—But the crooked perverseness of human nature, soon caused the remedy to become worse than the disease.—Whilst vice, ignorance, and indolence, were by these means nursed, till the ebullition of human passions, produced bigotry;—which again sent forth armed hosts to destroy each other with more furious rage than before:—still forgetting the honest principle which the first monks, both in Egypt, and in Britain, had been wise enough to adopt; and with the full adoption of which, our countryman *Sir William Petty*, first laid the foundation of the greatest prosperity of this country, namely,—that *honest industry alone*, the original task of man,—cultivating the earth,—cultivating science, and ingenious arts,—was the only sure foundation of peaceful enjoyment to individuals, and of public welfare:—and that the constant encouragement of it, was the greatest charity:—whilst the same ingenuous disposition of mind which was its best, and constant support, and spur, would also best produce *unfeigned piety*, and a concomitant humble disposition, the best tests of true Religion.

fetch'd reasoning, that such kind of ingenious, retired Recluses, might indeed be the Inventresses of these odd ornaments.

Hence it might come to pass, that the stories of some of *Æsop's* Fables,* should be found in the freezes, and on the mouldings, at *Barfreston*, introduced just as they would be on a girl's sampler.†—Hence emblematical figures of virtues, and vices; and little tales of history, are represented, to fill up nooks, and corners of compartments.—Hence a studied variation of *corresponding* arches, and of *corresponding* parts of buildings; to shew extraordinary ingenuity;—as is manifested peculiarly in the old part of the front of Lincoln Cathedral;—and hence a studied gaiety of ornament, that defied all rules of regularity.

* This book was so much in repute, that we are told even King Alfred himself made a translation of it.—See Hume, &c. Vol. I. p. 68.—And that such fancied devices, on freezes, and mouldings, as allusions to *Æsop's* Fables, had their first origin amongst pious, and ingenious women, in the peaceful retirement of their sequestered retreats, is much confirmed by a curious observation which has been lately made;—that even many of the Fables themselves, that now commonly pass for *Æsop's*, seem to have had their real invention, and origin, in the same peaceful abodes.

In a very curious Memoir, concerning the Works of *Mary*, an Anglo-Norman Poetess, born in France, who wrote in the French language, in the reign of Henry the Third, and who amongst other things translated the *Fables of Æsop*; it is made to appear, that there were indeed but few of *Æsop's* original Fables amongst her collection; which yet she borrowed entirely from *England*; and that the greater part, from several allusions in them, shewed that they must have been composed in *Monasteries*, before her time. See *Archæologia*, Vol. XIII. p. 35.

† *Call me again the day that is past*;—was said to one of the wisest, and best men, to convince him of the limited powers of the human mind.—And somewhat allied to this impossibility, is the difficulty of forming rightly, adequate ideas of past ages.—The change of circumstances, and of the whole scene of things, is so great, that the mind can hardly be brought effectually to imagine itself in the same situation, or to form apprehensions, or conceptions, at all like those which presented themselves continually to the imaginations of those who lived in earlier days.—In the present age, when in consequence of the wide spreading of the arts, and of the facility of obtaining instruction, every well educated female becomes nearly an accomplished, and excelling artist, in drawing, it is a very difficult matter to conceive, with what admiration, far less than a century ago, the wretched scrawling sketches of the pencil of some very extraordinary young woman, here or there, were beheld as efforts of prodigious genius.—Much more difficult is it, rightly to comprehend, how very admirable, and commanding of attention, the little sculptured devices, with ill shaped figures, and the varieties of ornaments, then newly introduced, would appear in the eyes of the rude Saxons.—A *Religious Recluse* became, perhaps, as much venerated for ingenuity, as for piety.

The whole effect, however, (pleasing in every age,) was peculiarly pleasing in an age, in which, except the ingenious efforts of *devoutly secluded* persons, nothing but the effects of savage barbarity was to be seen. And it is therefore no wonder, that the enchantment caught hold of the imagination of the people at large; and soon gave an opportunity to designing men, to convert the honest reverence which the vulgar began to have, for such ingenuity, and such manifestations of goodness of heart in *Recluses*, into a reverence for superstition; and into a blind devotion to the will of those, who proclaimed themselves to be at the head of the Church.

And thus very soon did those sincere efforts, which had been directed to improve, and enlighten the world, become, by means of craft, perverted to be the very instruments of introducing corruption, and darkness.

Archbishop *Theodore's*, was the very age in which the greatest number of these Societies of Ladies were formed.—In his own neighbourhood, in the year 670, at *Mynstre*, in the Isle of Thanet, not very far from Barfreston, *Dompneva*, Daughter-in-law of *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, and Great Grand-daughter of *Ethelbert*, founded one of these Societies, which was almost the soonest of all others called a *Nunnery*;—having established there a memorial of her two Brothers, that had been treacherously murdered by one of the chief Officers of *Egbert*, King of Kent; who, (as some sort of recompense for this murder,) gave considerable adjacent lands to this foundation.*

Here were no less than seventy young Ladies placed, with *Mildred*, the Daughter of *Dompneva*, at their head.—And here still remains, in the Church, a part of the old *Saxon nave*.

Eadburga, the second Governess, or Abbess, afterwards, in 740, founded a second Society, at the distance of a mile from this, which became, in like manner, a regular *Monastick Nunnery*.

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 84. The whole story is told at full length by Harpsfield, p. 65, and at once shews the savage ferocity of the age, and the too good cause there was to wish for these kind of quiet retirements.

About the same period with *Dompneva's* foundation, in the Isle of Thanet, *Sexburga*, the Widow of Ercombert, King of Kent, in 675, founded a like Society, a subsequent Monastery, for seventy-seven Ladies,* in the Isle of Shepey, which seems to have been finally completed A. D. 710.—The three Islands, Ely, Thanet, and Shepey, having been thus chosen originally, merely because of their supposed security:—though that very circumstance of their supposed secure, *insular* situation, soon became the very means of exposing these real cradles of art, and ingenuity, the more to the horrid plunder of the *Danes*;—a grievous invasion, far more noxious than the rough, *Saxon* manners of their own country, which the first founders wished to escape.

The high antiquity of the Church of this Monastery, in the Isle of Shepey,† notwithstanding the more modern building of the present structure, appears, even from an Inscription still remaining in the Church, in whatever age it might be added:—*"Hic jacent Rogerus Norwood et Boon Uxor ejus sepulti ante Conquestum."*

Let us now consider those buildings, which being undertaken upon a more magnificent scale, by Princes themselves, were therefore larger; but were built with less nice attention, and with less curious workmanship;—and were by no means trimmed, or adorned, with such variety of ornament.—Buildings which were most manifestly executed by workmen, who offered themselves in numbers, to do their best, without either such guidance, or such abilities, as devised the other small, more neat, and more artificial works.—Workmen who, therefore, produced buildings, rude, rough, and hastily reared; like their own ideas;—but *great*, and surpassing the others in magnificence; as the pecuniary abilities of their employers, surpassed the pecuniary abilities of those who reared the *smaller Parochial Churches*.

Amongst these Great Structures, the first that presents itself, in point of grandeur, though not quite the first in point of date, is

* See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 88 and 152.

† There is a representation of the more modern remains of this Church, in Grose's Antiquities, Vol. II.

the old venerable structure at *St. Albans*, in Hertfordshire; in which some parts of the original Building appear to remain.—A structure that does also the rather deserve to be considered, in the first place; because its Abbots had precedence of all other Abbots in England.*—Though nothing can more strongly shew the gross ignorance, superstition, and direful errors of those sad days of darkness, which so soon obscured the true light of the Gospel in this Country, than the history of its first Abbots.†

Ten years after the dreadful persecution, in the time of the Emperor Dioclesian, that is about the year 300, a Church, or plain religious building of some kind or other, was reared at *Verulam*,‡ in remembrance of the perseverance of *Albanus*, a sincere pious good Christian, one of the earliest sufferers in those sad days;—a Church, reared, as near as might be, to the spot where he was buried.

As a stone, with an inscription, had before this building was designed, been placed in the Town Wall, to perpetuate the memorial of his suffering for the truth;§ so we may reasonably believe, all that was intended by the rearing of this Church was, to animate Christians to follow his stedfast example, and to prevent the record of his faithfulness from being lost in oblivion:—though it be indeed too true, that the Monks in later ages dishonoured his good name, by making a superstitious idolatrous Saint of him, and by even setting up his image as an idol.

This first Religious Structure, at *Verulam*, seems to have con-

* Stevens's Additions to Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 233.

† Their Lives are written by *Matthew Paris*; and the whole substance of his account may be seen, sufficiently at large, translated, in Stephens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 235 to 265.—The curious original Manuscript, is in the British Museum; with small, miniature, illuminated drawings of the Abbots:—and with a curious Account of King *Offa*, and of his Exploits prefixed;—also with still more curious drawings, in outlines merely, illustrating, in the most interesting manner, the dresses of the age.

‡ Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. ca. 7.

§ Camden.—Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 337.

tinued for about four hundred and fifty years, without any superstitious ideas having been, in general, connected with it; notwithstanding the increasing proneness to superstition, which had caused some to fancy, that certain miraculous cures had been wrought here.—And in the latter part of this period, this first Church was destroyed, by the Picts, and Saxons.

After this, *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, the most powerful Prince of the Heptarchy,* whose conscience had been awakened, to reflect on his murder of *Ethelbert*; and whose ambitious pursuits, had been followed with burdensome fears, rebuilt this Church, on the very same spot, about A. D. 755.—But afterwards making a journey to Rome, (where every penitential idea, especially when joined with any superstitious inclinations, was cherished);† and having become animated, by a friendly correspondence with *Charlemagne*;‡ on his return, about the year 793, he founded a new, and more sumptuous Church, with an adjoining Monastery, for Benedictines, a little on the other side of the river from *Verulam*; and on the very spot where *Albanus* was said to have been martyred.§

This good man had, as *Gildas* informs us,|| out of mere compassion, and charity, concealed a Christian Confessor, pursued by the persecutors, and just ready to be taken;—had hidden him in his house, and changed garments with him:—and being himself caught in those very garments, honestly confessed his own faith, and was beheaded.—It was with lively apprehensions of this noble sincerity, and of a conduct so different from his own offence, that *Offa* seems to have laid the foundations of this Church: and nothing can be more awfully solemn, than the words of the original Deed of Gift of *Offa*, either in expression, or signature.—Signed by himself, and by his Son; by other Kings assisting in the solemnity; and by many great men of the realm attending.¶

* See Henry's History, Vol. III. p. 50, 51.

† See Anglia Sacra. lib. i. p. 460.

‡ W. Malmsb. lib. i. ca. 4.

§ Mat. Paris, 984. See Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 13. And Chauncey's Hertfordshire; where the whole story, with the monkish additions to it, is told at large.

|| Epistle of Gildas, Sec 8.

¶ See Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 177.

But a stronger instance, of the fallibility of good intention, and honest design, can hardly be produced, than was the event.

For having founded this most magnificent Monastery, hither he translated the martyr's bones; after his grave (as the Monks gave out) had been discovered by a miraculous light.—And here he placed them, after he had encircled the scull with a golden diadem, in a stately shrine, of gold and silver, of beaten work, set with precious stones; together with that wonderful, large cargo of Relicks, of all the Apostles, (as it was pretended,) and of many martyrs, which *Germanus*, coming over from France, had deposited in *Alban's* grave,* A. D. 429: thus laying a deep foundation for superstition:—whilst Archbishop *Lambert*, not to lose the good opportunity, soon presumed to think himself entitled, in his subscription to the Canons of a Council held at *Calcuith*,† to subscribe his own name before that of King *Offa*;—and whilst *Offa* himself, still further coinciding with such humiliating, penitential ideas, obtained a licence from the Pope, that thenceforth a Tax, called *Romescot*, which had some time been paid annually from England, to Rome, should be allowed to be collected throughout *Hertfordshire*, by the Abbot of *St. Albans*,‡ and to be applied to his own use.

Superstition thus established; and *Offa*, whose penitence seems to have been most sincere, thus deeply humbled; in this Monastery of *St. Alban*, (whose Abbot took place of all others in England), the corruptions of the Church so rapidly increased, that it had very nearly the preeminence in that point, as well as in all others.

St. Alban, at the request of *Offa*, when at Rome, had been canonized by Pope *Adrian* the First.§

And *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Abba*, who was born near this

* Matth. Florileg. Hist. ad Annum. 794.

† Spelman Concil. Tom. I. p. 291. Canon x. 3.

‡ Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 177.—This Tax had first been granted by *Ina*, King of Wessex, the then head of all the Anglo Saxons, about 715, in consequence of his journey to Rome. Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 128.

§ Leland's Collectanea, Vol. III. p. 72. Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 177.

Monastery, being chosen Pope; and taking the name of *Adrian the Fourth*, in 1154; partly from a partiality to his native soil, and partly to increase religious veneration, issued a Bull, by which he ordained, that, as *St. Alban* was the Protomartyr in England, so the Abbot of this place should be the *first Abbot* of England. After which, in 1218, Pope Honorius exempted the Abbot from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln; and granted him Episcopal rights.*

Thus strengthened to take the lead; in this Abbey we find, from age to age, continued efforts made to increase superstitious imposition;—till at length the grossest idolatry, and the highest pitch of ecclesiastical arrogance, prevailed *here*.

Mr. *Ashmole* has preserved a very authentic traditionary record, from an eye witness;† that near *St. Alban's* shrine was erected a great hollow image, wherein a Monk being placed, could, by means of wires, cause the eyes to move, and the head to nod; according as any offering to the shrine was approved or disliked.

The very old man who related this fact; had, when young, just after the reformation, crept into the image, and seen the whole contrivance.—He had also seen another Image of *St. Alban*, carried in solemn procession through the town; which, being set down at the Market Cross, the Monks pretended they could not lift it up, till it was touched by the Abbot's crozier; and till he had pronounced *a solemn invocation to it*.

It is no wonder, therefore, that, in this Abbey, was attempted to be palmed upon the world, the pretended miracle of restoring a blind man to sight; and others of a similar kind; before the shrine of *St. Alban*: the detection of which frauds, by the honest *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, is described with so much spirit by our celebrated Poet Shakspeare.‡

To increase reverence, there was here, in this Monastery, also,

* Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 13.

† See an extract from Mr. Ashmole's Manuscript, which was preserved in the Library of Thomas Astle, Esq. in the Repertory, Vol. III. p. 60.

‡ In the Second Part of Henry the Sixth, Sc. II. the story is taken from Grafton, p. 597.

an imbroidered vesture, for the Abbot to put on, whenever he went into the sacred place *where the shrine stood* ;* in imitation of the sacred vestments, with which *Aaron* was to be clad, when he went into the *Holy of Holies*, within the Tabernacle.

And, in the Great Hall, at dinner, the Abbot usually sat *alone*, at a table by himself ; raised on an elevation of fifteen steps ; up which, as the Monks ascended, with the dishes, they stopped, on a landing place, at every fifth step, and sung a short hymn. —And having thus waited on their stately *Superior*, they dined themselves, at two tables, on each side of the hall, below the steps. —Even if a Nobleman, or Ambassador, came as a guest ; he was seated, not by the Abbot ; but only near one of the ends of his table.†

This Abbot also had the privilege of giving solemn blessings, in the *streets*, and *high-ways*.‡ —And of carrying with him a moveable altar ; on which he might say mass, as well in places not consecrated, as in sacred Churches.

The Abbey also had exemption from all other jurisdiction ; to that degree, that no person, of their tenants, or meanest peasants, could be summoned, on any account, by any Court of Justice, to appear without the liberties of the Abbey.§

And the Abbot, with his Monks, had power freely to dispense with any irregularities incurred.||

To maintain strict discipline, however, amongst the Monks themselves, Matthew Paris tells us, that so early as the age of William Rufus, about A.D. 1090, Paul Paulinus, the then Abbot, built a *dark Prison* for disobedient Monks. —This Mr. Grose¶ supposes to have been in the Great Gate of Entrance to the Abbey ; the present Gaol ; —but as the whole style of its Architecture shews that Gate to have been of a much later age ; so indeed we shall find *the Prison*

* Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 23.

† Extract from MSS. in Repertory, Vol. III. p. 61.

‡ See the Account of the Privileges of the Abbey, as settled A. D. 1257, in Stevens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 234.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ Grose's Antiquities, Vol. V.

was of a very different kind ; still remaining, and being merely a very small narrow cell, in an hollow space in the Wall, over one of the Pillars, of the Nave of the Church: in several respects similar to some other most wretched dens of confinement, which we shall have occasion to shew did exist, in other monastick buildings, for the purpose of taming refractory spirits.

Strange is the circumstance, that such nurseries of superstition, pride, and oppression, as these monastick foundations were, should have been, in a barbarous age, almost the only means of preserving antient literature ; and of fostering the first dawnings of increasing science.

Yet such was the case.—From such came forth, that excellent man, Venerable *Bede*, A. D. 720 ; to whom we are indebted for the first real introduction of the use of the *Christian æra*, in his elaborate History.*

Out of these burst forth, the dawning efforts of Roger Bacon, about A. D. 1270, who seems to have been the first Discoverer, in this Country, of the Principles of Optics ; and of Chemistry ;—and perhaps even a Discoverer of Printing ; and of Gun-powder.

And, about the same time, in this very Monastery of *St. Albans*, had been educated, and was maintained, that indefatigable Writer, and interesting Historian, Matthew Paris ; flourishing in the days of Henry the Third.†

And nothing can be more true, than the observation of *Henault* ; that had it not been for the pains *the Monks* took in copying books, in their Monasteries, all the learning of the antients had been lost.‡

It is, notwithstanding its being an odd circumstance, and though

* It had been first invented by Denis, called the Little, in the year 526, but was not brought into established use, till the Council of Leptine, A. D. 743. *Henault*, Vol. I. p. 41.

† The curious Copy, in Manuscript, of his History, which he presented to the King, is, to this day, preserved in the British Museum ; having rude sketches in the margin, with heraldick bearings, and with the odd circumstance, of the shields of arms being reversed, and turned topsy-turvy, where the persons had been attainted.

‡ *Henault*, Vol. I. p. 185.

it relates to events a little subsequent, not perhaps unfit to be added, consistently with the same curious author's observations, that (however the fact was to be either commended, or reproved) here also, in these Monasteries, arose the first idea of *Theatrical Representations*.—For one *Geoffry*, who was afterwards Abbot of *St. Albans*, in England, undertaking the education of youth, caused them to represent, in proper dresses, *Tragedies of play*; in imitation of the Tragedies of the Greeks.*—And the subject of the first dramattick piece, was the Miracles of *St. Catharine*.—This was about A. D. 1179,—219 years before any such representations were brought forward in France.

Even these circumstances alone might induce us to turn our attention to the Abbey at *St. Albans*, before we take other great Monastick Piles of Building into consideration; but to these circumstances we may also add, that the remains of this most antient and interesting Structure, contain very singularly curious specimens of the progressive changes in Architecture, of many successive ages; as well as some of the strangest specimens of the *Saxon* age.

I cannot but differ, however, in a small degree, from the conclusions of some of the learned Antiquaries, who have given descriptions of this Building.

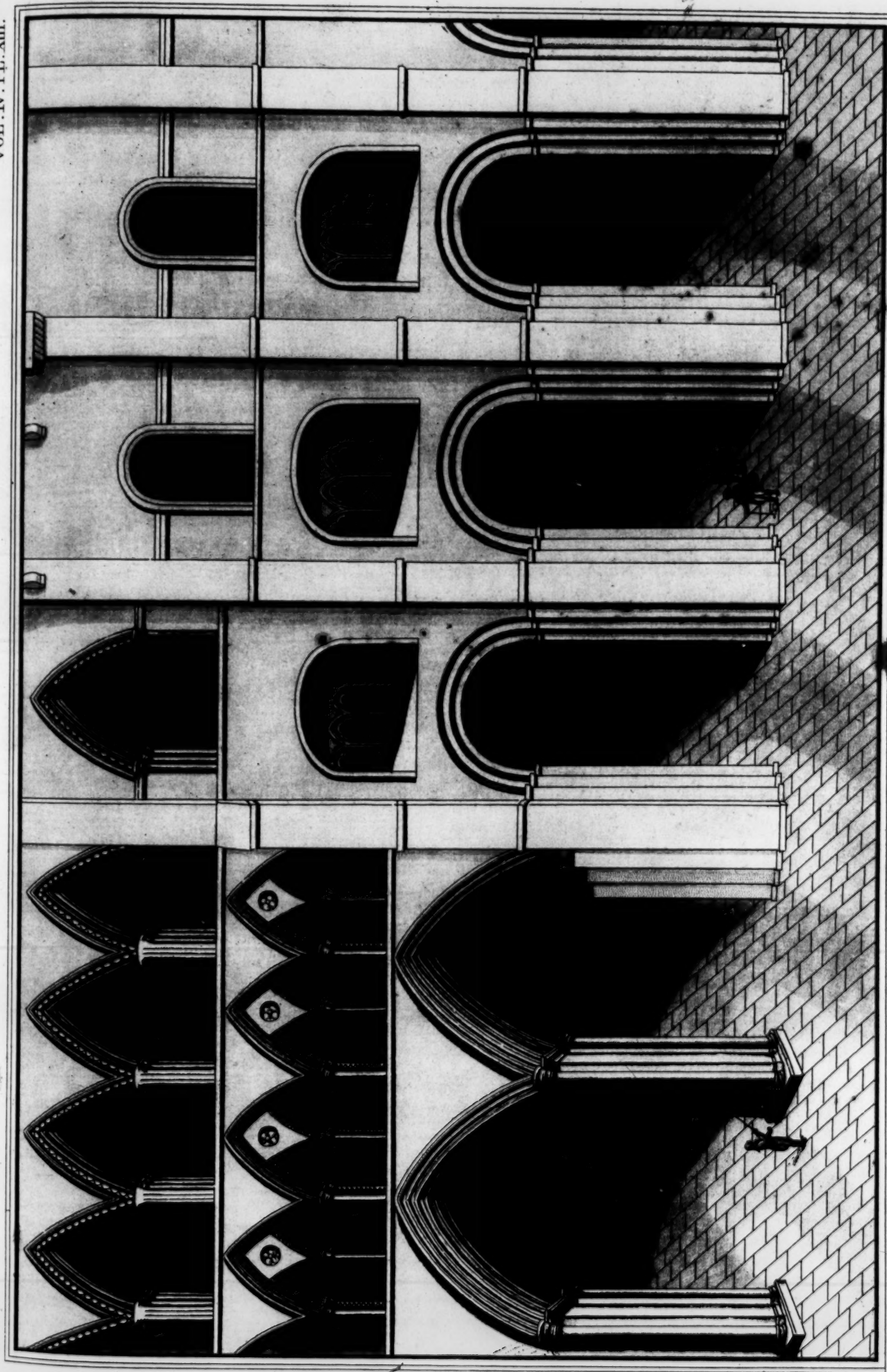
We are told by them, in general terms,† that “the north side of the east end of the nave, retains the massy rude pillars of the original Structure.—And that the transepts, and tower, with the upper half of the north aisle of the nave, are of the Norman style of Henry the First.”—But this does not appear to me to be exactly the case, either with respect to the one, or the other.

A little matter of close attention will perhaps explain the whole in a more satisfactory manner.

Pl. XIII. represents that part of the north side of the Great Nave, at *St. Albans*, where the old work (which Mr. Gough supposes to have belonged to the original Structure built by *Offa*), and

* Henault Abrege, Vol. I. p. 185.

† Mr. Gough, surely, in this respect, was led into an error. Vol. I. p. 347. H. I.



Norman Architecture, on the North side of the Nave at St. Albans.



Pub.^d as the Act direct, by G. Nisbet, 25th Feb: 1865.

the new work, of the time of Edward the First, join exactly in the manner here represented.

The former appears on the right hand; with that upper part, which Mr. Gough very rightly allows to have been about the age of Henry the First.—And the latter appears on the left.—And through the arch is a view into the north aisle.

But now; when we come to measure and examine the whole; and to compare what we see, with antient records: as in those records we read, that *Paulinus*, the fourteenth Abbot, who was elected A. D. 1077, rebuilt the Church of *Offa*, out of the stones, tiles, and other materials of *Verulam*; so here we see the whole of the work, on the right-hand side of this Plate, manifestly exhibiting to our eyes, a style of Architecture, entirely conformable to what we meet with in the buildings of the age of *William Rufus*, and of *Henry the First*, either at *Norwich*, or *Ely*, or elsewhere; and far unlike the *Saxon*, either at *Pershore*, or at *Tewkesbury*, or at *Gloucester*, or in any other building.

And when we come still further to measure the bases of the great pillars exactly, we find their construction, and the dimensions, and respective positions of their parts, to be so exceedingly irregular; that they suggest at once to the mind, the suspicion of there having been originally, on the spot, smaller round pillars; one of which might remain inclosed in the centre of each great square pillar; and be, by that means, as it was deemed, strengthened, and enlarged by *Paulinus*; who might, very probably, case over the original round pillars, in this irregular manner, instead of building quite new, square, regularly proportioned pillars, from the foundation.

Pl. XIV. will explain what is here said. It represents exactly the measures;—the set-offs;—and the deviations from any regular plan, as they are found in some of the pillars.

Fig. 1, shews the exact dimensions of that pillar, where the old work of the age of *William Rufus*, joins to the new work in Pl. XIII.—Which pillar is No. 5, Pl. XIV. fig. v.—And here,

* See Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 19.

in the first place we may observe, that the sides do not stand at all square ; though they apparently fill up a sort of square space :— and therefore the width of the whole pillar, from the west side, to the east side, may very well measure, as it actually does, about ten feet, six inches,—though the measures of the several projecting parts, added together, amount only to nine feet, eight inches and an half, on the south side ; for at almost all the corners, of the several set-offs, there actually are obtuse angles, instead of right angles.—How strangely the transverse diameters run, is also very obvious.—And therefore the whole may most rationally be believed to have been built, surrounding some original, and more antient Pillar of *Offa's Saxon Building* ; which was, perhaps, similar to those at *Tewkesbury*, and *Gloucester* ;—and about six feet in diameter ; as represented by the letters (a b c d).

Again, fig. II. in Pl. XIV. shews the plan of that which is the next Pillar to the right, in the representation of the elevation, Pl. XIII.—And here the same kind of irregularities exactly are observable ; with the same kind of probability of an original Saxon Pillar of *Offa's* having been left in the middle.

Further ; the odd irregular intercolumniations speak the same language : for they are, throughout this north side of the great nave, quite unequal ; as appears by the exact measures, shewn in the general plan of this north side of the nave, Pl. XIV. fig. v.

Here, if we take the Pillar, No. 5, (whose particular plan has been already given, at fig. 1, in this very Plate XIV.) to be the *first antient Pillar* ; we find the successive intercolumniations to be only eleven feet, three inches ; ten feet, nine inches ; eleven feet, four inches ; and eleven feet, five inches : which will sufficiently, and indeed almost precisely agree with the old *Saxon* intercolumniations, at *Tewkesbury*, and *Gloucester*, of twelve feet, two inches ; and of twelve feet, four inches ; if we suppose this old *Saxon Building* of *Offa's* to have had, originally, just such round Pillars as those at *Tewkesbury*, which are now cased up *within* the present square Pillars, by the work of *Paulinus*. And I can hardly make a doubt, but that if we were allowed to *uncase* the original Pillars, we should first find, on the outside, work

composed of *Roman brick*, and the other materials from *Verulam*, added by *Paulinus*: and *within* that, the solid round pillars, first built by *Offa*, possibly still to be distinguished, though perhaps constructed of somewhat the same materials.

So far, therefore, consistently with Mr. Gough's affirmation, the original Building of *Offa*, may still exist in this part of the great Nave of the Church:—but it is not at all visible to the eye at present, as he seems to have apprehended.

Before, however, we proceed to examine *where* any part of that original work does indeed still appear, it is worth our while to bestow a little attention upon the plan of this north side of the great nave; taking the whole of the old, and new work, together.

Pl. XIV. fig. (V) shews the plan of the north side, of the Great Nave.

The line (F F) shews a part of the West Front of the Church.—The dotted line (N N) shews the part where the new work, of the age of Edward the First, joins with the old work, of the time of William Rufus.—The double dotted line (S S) shews a part of the stone skreen, that separates the great Nave of the Church, from a detached part, between (S S) and (C C), called *the Baptistry*.—And (C C) points out where the partition is, that separates the choir.

The lower line of arithmetical figures, shews the number of the pillars, reckoning from the west door, to the choir.—The next line of figures above, shews the exact measures of all the intercolumniations.—The row of little geometrical diagrams, shews the general plan of the bases of the several pillars, in their several just proportions: only the large square pillars, are included merely within straight lines, because the various set-offs, all round them, are too small to be taken notice of in such a plan as this is.—And the line of arithmetical figures, over this, shews the width of the pillars themselves.—But here it must be remarked, that these dimensions of the widths of the old pillars do not exactly agree with the sum of the measures of the parts of the same pillars, as given on the large scale, fig. (I) and (II); because,

on this small scale, the measures are of the whole width of each pillar, as increased by the obtuse angles of each little set-off.

It ought to be observed also; that, for the sake of introducing this general plan of the pillars, the more conveniently in the part of the Plate where it is placed, their fronts towards the great aisle, are placed downwards, in the Plate;—whereas in the larger plans of the single pillars, fig. (I, II, III, IV) their fronts, answering to these downward parts of the plan, are placed towards the right hand of the Plate.

Further, it may be curious to observe; that, after all the care that could be used, the measures of the distances from the west door at (F F), to the joining of the new, and old work (N N); and from thence to the skreen before the baptistry (S S), and from thence to the choir (C C); as computed from the dimensions of the several pillars, and intercolumniations, does not agree exactly with the measures of the same distances, as taken by a line upon the floor:—which, however, only does still more fully confirm all that has been said, concerning the irregular forms, and proportions of the pillars themselves; as such disagreement of the measures could arise from no other cause.

The computation from the several measures, turns out as follows.

	By the sum total of the pillars and in- tercolumniations.		By exact measure on the floor.	
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
From the west wall, to the division of the new work from the old	79	3	77	6
From the division of the new and old work, to the skreen of the baptistry	126	3	125	0
From the skreen of the baptistry to the choir	64	5	62	9
Whole length	269	11	265	3

In the next place we may remark, that in the new work, of the time of Edward the First, the Pillars, (1, 2, 3, 4) are not only

much smaller than the rest ; being only six feet, eight inches, in diameter ; but are also exactly uniform, and regular in all their parts, and set-offs :—as is shewn in the small plan of the pillar, at No. (4) ; and on a larger scale, Fig. III ; where the respective dimensions of the several parts is shewn, by the circle of arithmetical figures placed round.

These pillars, therefore, were manifestly built entire from the ground, with great skill ; instead of having any old *Saxon* pillar left standing *within* them ; and have indeed much beauty in their appearance, as may be seen, in Pl. XIII.

But when we come to the pillar, at No. (5), we find here, this *new work* joined in a very odd manner to the old, at the top ; and the whole lower part of this antient pillar, left just as it was in the time of William Rufus, or Henry the First.—And when we come to examine its precise plan, at the bottom, (as shewn exactly on the large scale, Fig. (I) we do not find even such an approximation to regularity, as there is in almost all other works of the age of William Rufus, or Henry the First, either at Ely, or Norwich, or elsewhere.

The same observation may be made with regard to the pillars, at (9) and (10) ; though they were evidently carefully constructed, in that part of the Nave, with a *designed variation* of form ; much in the same manner as is usual, in some other structures of the age of Henry the First, in pillars placed the nearest to the skreen, that separates the Nave from the Baptistry, and Choir.

Such a peculiar variation of form, in pillars, in *that part* of the Nave, is found in Norwich Cathedral :—but on what account it was made, I have not been able to ascertain.—Possibly it might, be to distinguish some particular altars, placed in that particular situation.—And here at *St. Albans*, as well as at *Norwich*, there is, moreover, a little difference even in the plans of the two pillars themselves.

The plan of the pillar, at No. (9) is shewn upon a large scale, Fig. IV.—It is indeed somewhat more regular than the others ; yet a round *Saxon* pillar, such as we have before described, may,

possibly, remain cased, and enclosed in the lower part of it.—And in the wall, over it, is the dismal cell, on account of which, this may justly be called *the Prison Pillar*.

The appearance of this Pillar, is represented Pl. XV. fig. (1).

The upper part of the wall above it, beginning with the square pilaster, is, externally, exactly the same as all the rest of the upper work that appears over the pillars, and arches, on the right hand side, in Pl. XIII.—And we may observe, that in the sides of the third row of arches, by the windows above, there appear small, open arches; which are the regular continuation of a walk, or gallery, from a staircase at the west front of the Church, quite to the tower in the choir;—running all the way, behind the small pillars at the top of the new work, and through these arches of the old work.—And just within one of these arches above, directly over the prison pillar, No. (9) is a steep staircase; that goes down to a frightful little cell, within the wall, behind the front pilaster; and placed just between the two lower windows; with a little narrow loop hole, looking into the Nave of the Church, to give light and air, and to afford any poor imprisoned Monk an opportunity (as in other monkish prisons at *Canterbury*, and at *Worcester*) of seeing the celebration of mass at some altar.—A wretched den; but not so bad by far, as that which we shall find existed at *Gloucester*.—This den, there can be very little doubt, was that very one, which is mentioned by *Matthew Paris*;* though it might also sometimes, in subsequent ages, serve (as has been supposed) for the purpose of imposition upon the common people; by causing an extraordinary voice to issue, as from the pillar.†

The pillars of the Baptistery, No. (11, 12, 13) like those of the

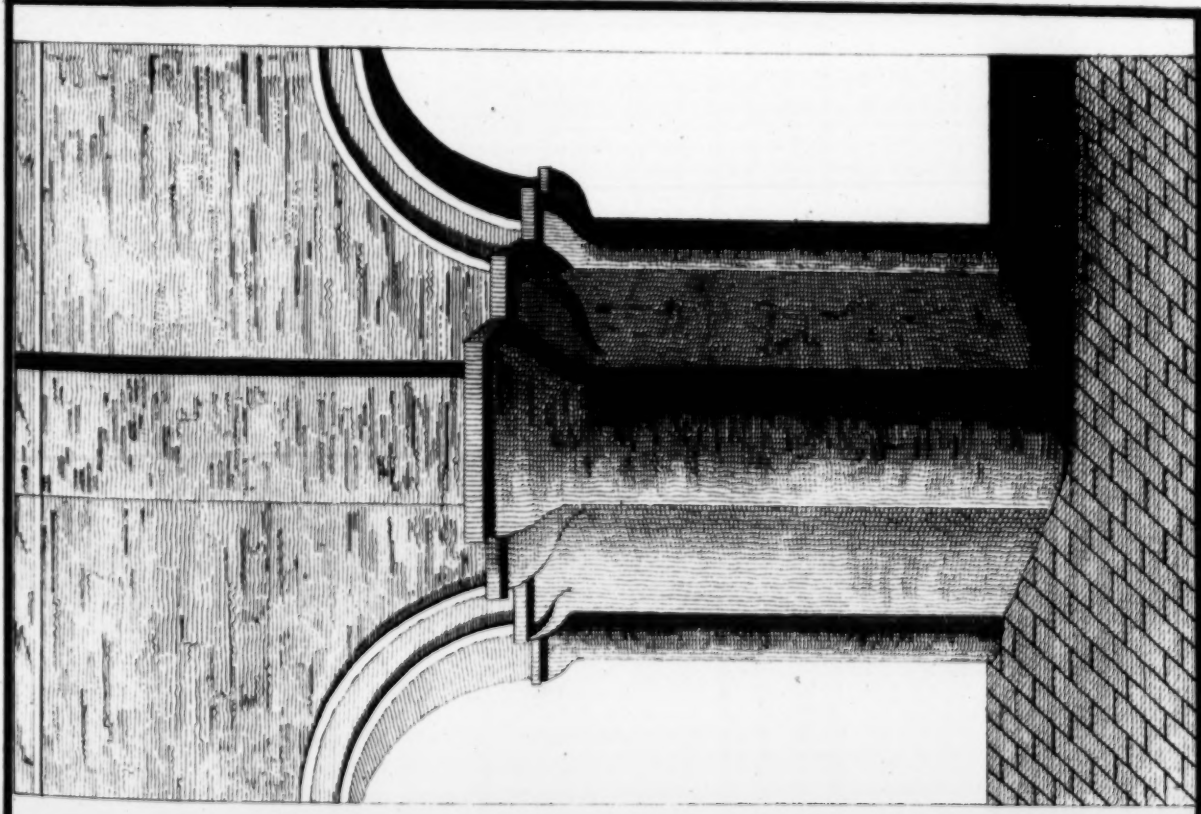
* See before, p. 120 of this Volume.

† Such prisons are by no means so uncommon, as persons unacquainted with the history of the dark and direful ages of superstition are apt to suppose:—for in the Church of Dantzic, in Germany, we are told,‡ is a vast pillar, hollowed, and antiently used to immure ecclesiastics guilty of heinous crimes; as a kind of punishment, well known, and common in many parts of Europe. This den is about forty feet deep, from the grating at its top; and is only about seven feet square.

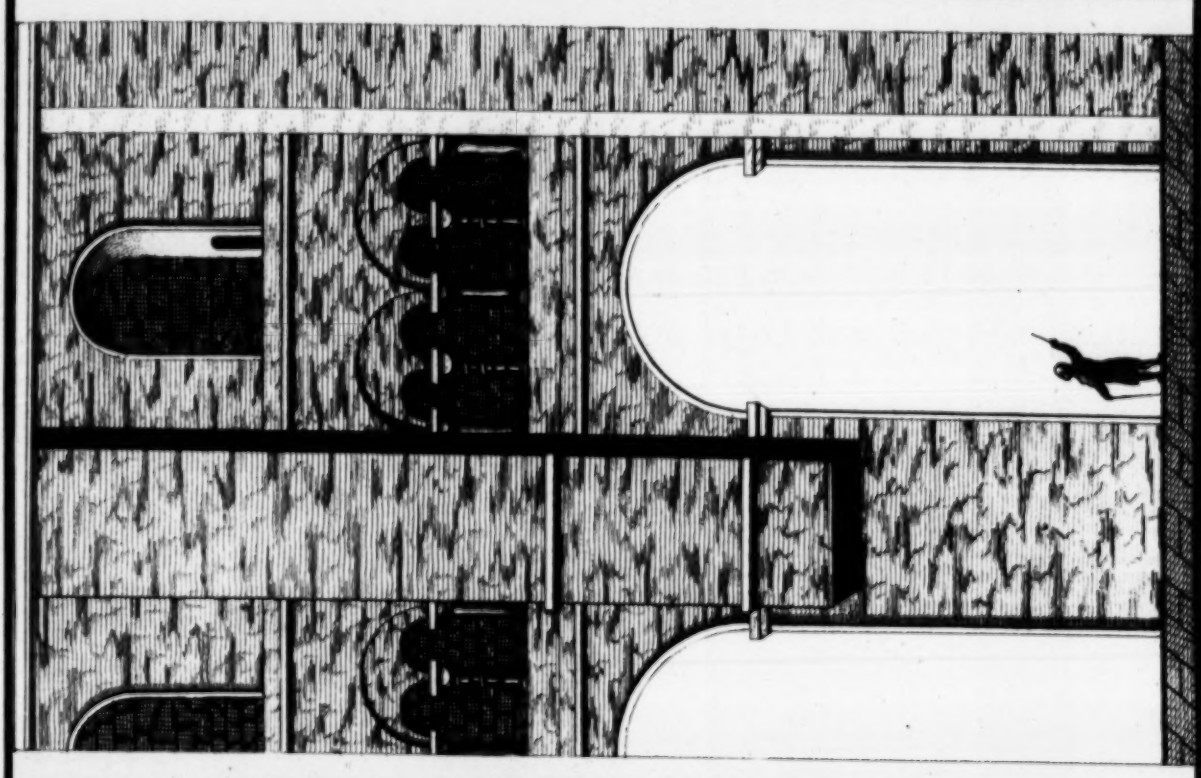
In the centre of a wall of St. Mary's Church, at *Leicester*, is said to have been a

‡ See *Wraxall's Tour*, p. 357.

F. 1.



F. 2.



Great Prison Pillar: and, Saxon part of the North Transcript at St. Albans.

Arch. &c. of the Saxon Church, in St. Albans, 1841.

Engraved by J. B. B. B.



Nave, are again *irregular*, both in the dimensions and intercolumniations.—And the very existence of this place, called the *Baptistry*, does, even in itself, tend to shew still further the *great antiquity* of this part of the structure.—For it is well known, that in the first ages of the Church, the holy Ordinance of Baptism was often administered by Immersion.—And that in consequence of such practice it was, that *Baptisteries* (*Baptisteria*) were built in all parts of *Italy*, and elsewhere, by the Emperor *Constantine*, and his immediate Successors;—and became imitated in some of the most antient, and most dignified Churches, in this Island. In places thus set apart stood a vessel of hewn stone, like a sort of tub; just sufficient either for partial immersion; or for the convert to stand in:—of which the old Font, now in St. Martyns, at Canterbury, and some few others, are specimens.*

In this Baptistry, at St. Albans, stood, in after ages, the antient Brass Font, that was brought from Leith, Scotland:†—in the room of which, after it had been embezzled during the Civil War, there has been placed there one of wood, as much resembling it as possible.

Perhaps it should just be mentioned, with regard to this north side of the great Nave, that upon some of the pillars, on removing the white-wash, still appear several remains of Colossal Paintings,

small closet, with loop holes, opening into the church yard, and a door into the Church, about half way up in the Wall, which den was called *Little Ease*. There is some account of this, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1783, Vol. LIII. p. 920.

And at *Glastonbury*, was much such another; said to have been not more than five feet in length, and two and an half in breadth; whilst its height was only answerable to the stature of a man, if he stood in an hole in one part excavated at the bottom; for otherwise he could not stand upright.—The door, which had a small window in the middle of it, opened into the Church.—And in this prison cell, *Dunstan* is even said to have chosen voluntarily to perform mortification, and penance. *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II. p. 96. There is some account of this also, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1784, Vol. LIV. p. 20:

* This matter is fully elucidated in a very curious Paper, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. X. p. 186, 187, 201, 202, 207; and Mr. Robinson has shewn, that the Baptism of Infants, did not become an established custom, till the fourteenth century. See *Basnage*, *Thes. Mon. Eccles.*—And *Hist. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. Digest. I. c. 5 de Ritibus de Immersione quæ per 13 secula perseveravit dictum.*

† See *Brown Willis*, Vol. I. p. 15.

in distemper, in black and white; similar to others which have been discovered, of late years at *Hereford*, and at *Winchester*, and in other Conventual Churches.*

Let us now attend more particularly to that part of this most antient Structure at *St. Albans*, where remains of the original Building of King *Offa*, or at least of an early *Saxon* age, do more decidedly appear.

In the North Cross, built over the very spot where *Albanus* is said to have been martyred.—And where we might reasonably expect the firmest parts of the first Building should have been indeed found, do these Remains appear.

In the painted Ceiling, over-head, (of very great antiquity, though later than the Building of the Transept itself) is represented the Martyrdom of *St. Alban*.† And in the side walls appear the Vestiges of the original Building.

Pl. XV. Fig. (2), shews a part of the East Side of this North Cross.

Quite at the top indeed, near the wooden ceiling, appear arches

* Paintings, however, which do no credit to the artists, or to the superstitious times in which they were encouraged.—Paintings, which in many instances go far beyond the blunt, honest simplicity of the first ages, wherein mere allegorical figures, even from *Æsop's Fables*, as well as from Scripture Parables, were represented; or else, wherein plain Scriptural History was represented.—Paintings, in the designing of which, blasphemous allusions, and rude idolatrous ideas, seem to have crouded promiscuously into the perverted imaginations of the poor daubers.

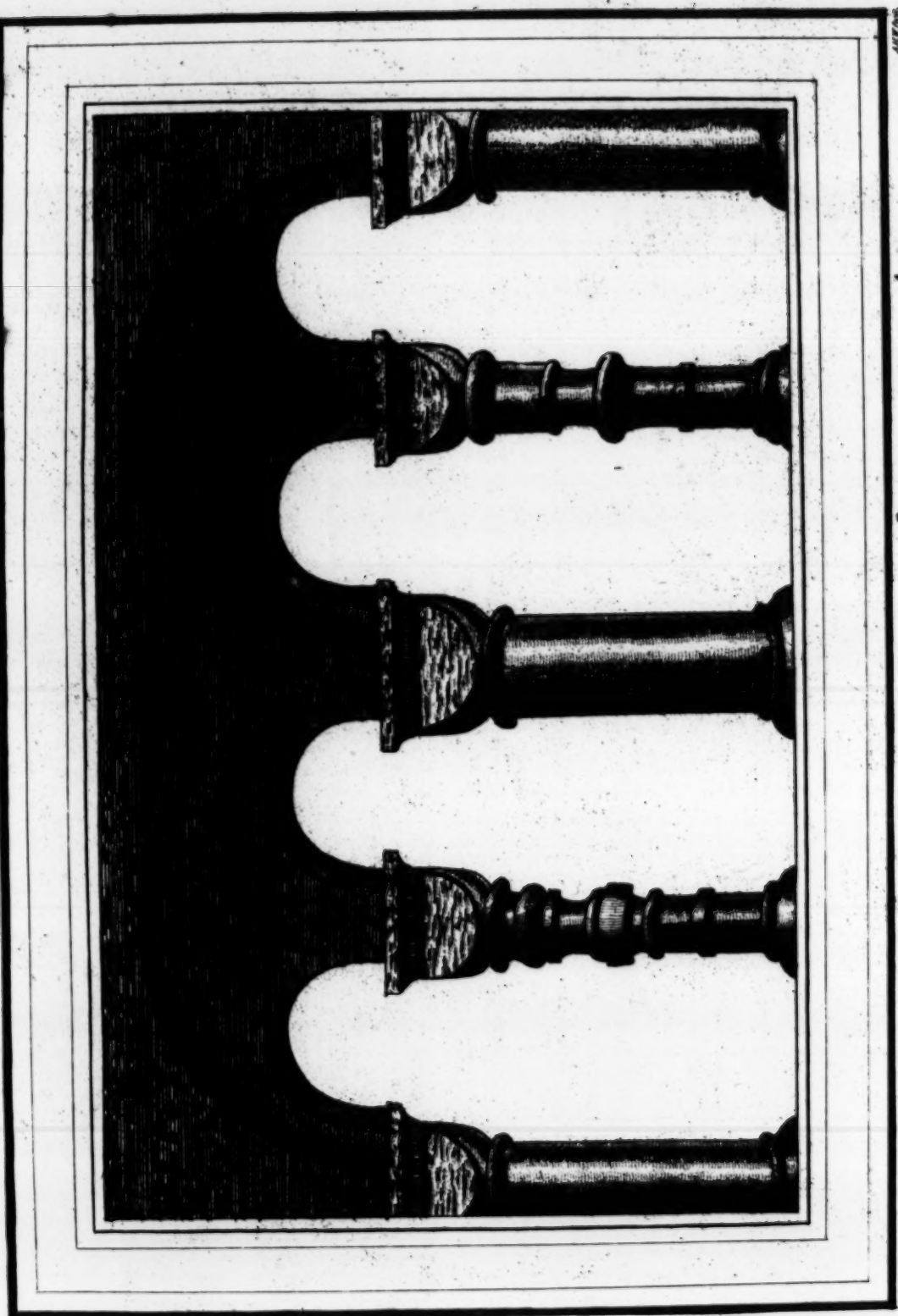
The first Paintings we know of, in this Country, were brought from Rome, about 678, by *Benedict Biscop*, the Founder of the Monastery of *Wæremouth*, and one of the first introducers of *Arts* into England. *Bedæ Hist. Abbat. Weremouth. p. 295.*

Pious, Venerable *Bede*, not foreseeing the abuse that would soon be made of them, considered them as means of good instruction, to those many *who could not read*. *Bedæ Opera, Tom. VIII. de Templo Solomonis, c. 19.*

Dunstan afterwards, himself a tolerable painter for the times, pursued the same idea, and brought the whole into fashion.—A fashion, in which he himself also led the way to the grossest corruption. *Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 94. Hiccesii Thesaur, Tom. I. p. 144.*

† *John de Whethamsted*, the thirty-third Abbot, about 1420, who also went by the name of *Bostock*, caused the Lady Chapel, it is said, to be finely painted, with stories out of the Sacred History; and he also caused the roof of the Choir to be painted. See *Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 14, 23.* But there is the greatest reason, from the appearance of the painting, to think this representation of the Martyrdom of an earlier date.





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Arches at St. Albans

Published at the St. Albans for J. Wallcut & Co.

similar to those of the age of *Henry the First*, or of *William Rufus*, in the great Nave; and, at bottom, the great Arch, to which the figure of a man is pointing, in the drawing, is very similar to those in the Nave, and most probably was a repair, and alteration of the same age.—But the row of arches, in the middle, between both, have a peculiarity, quite unlike either; and unlike any part of the work of *Paulinus* in the great Nave.—And the studied dissimilarity of their rude pillars, and even of the component parts of their pillars, shews a style of building that appears most truly *Saxon*;—as also does the great projecting, *hanging*, rude square pilaster, between them; and the bands, and filletings upon the walls.

It is almost impossible, therefore, to avoid concluding these arches to be remains of a Building much earlier than the time of *William Rufus*, or of *Henry the First*; notwithstanding an opinion which has been adopted, that no *Saxon Churches* had *Cross Isles*, or *Transepts*.*—And we shall find many instances, besides this, in some of our other most antient Religious Structures, where unquestionable old *Saxon* work has been left unaltered, in the midway part of an original wall, between the top and the bottom; whilst the lower part has been much more transformed by repairs, than in this instance; and the upper part above has been nearly entirely re-edified.

These curious old *Saxon* Arches, of the most antient part of the Building, are represented on a much larger scale, Pl. XVI:—where the exact proportions, and disproportions of every part,

* This opinion Mr. Bentham adopts in his History of Ely Cathedral, p. 29, merely as a probability; founded on the consideration, that many of the first Christian Churches were only the *Basilica*, or Courts of Justice in great Cities, converted to that use.

He acknowledges, however, that although the Churches at *Hexam*, and *York*, appear to have been constructed without *Cross Isles*; yet that of *Ramsey Abbey*, in Huntingdonshire, built in 974, had both *Cross Isles*, and Towers; which he deems a mode of building that had not then been long in use in England.

We may very fairly conclude, therefore, that although several of the first *Saxon Churches* were indeed without *Cross Isles*; yet that those built upon a larger scale, had that improved plan, before it came into more common use:—and that the large Structures, at *St. Albans*, and *Tewkesbury*, built only about two hundred years before, were in that number.

are endeavoured to be accurately preserved.—And it cannot surely pass unnoticed, by an attentive mind, that the composition of this odd species of Architecture, seems obviously to have been a sort of designed improvement, upon the arrangement of those kind of *little rude Saxon Arches*, which are seen in the upper part of the walls at Pershore, Pl. IX;—and to have been even deemed, some advance of the art.—For the four small arches, (1, 2, 3, 4), considered in themselves, as detached from the two larger arches over them, (which latter are placed merely as ornamental archivaults, flat, against the wall), would form very nearly just such a row, as some of those at Pershore.

It has been already mentioned, that *Paulinus*, who was Abbot in 1077, *rebuilt* the Church out of stones and tyles, and materials brought from *Verulam*:—and it is also recorded,* that he *rebuilt* the Tower for a bell.—There cannot therefore remain a doubt, but that a considerable part of the exterior structure of the present Tower of this venerable Church, was built by him.—But as the very expression of its being *rebuilt*, shews that there was a Tower *previously existing*; so there are some circumstances, in the Architecture itself, that seem to confirm the fact.

In a careful representation of the Tower, in Pl. XVII. Fig. (1), we may observe, that in the lower part, at (a), are seen the traces of two *Saxon* windows, blocked up in part, and converted into two great circular openings; which (however they may have been repaired, even with modern work, in later ages) are still exactly of the form, and style of Architecture, with such as were introduced in Church Towers, in the time of *William Rufus*;—as is obvious from a careful investigation of that part of the Tower of *Norwich Cathedral*, which was unquestionably built in his reign.—This alteration therefore appears to have been made, in a Tower that was left remaining in existence, when *Paulinus* re-edified the Structure.

And above these round windows, in the next story, at (b), appear a row of small arches, as truly *Saxon* in their style, as

* Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 19.

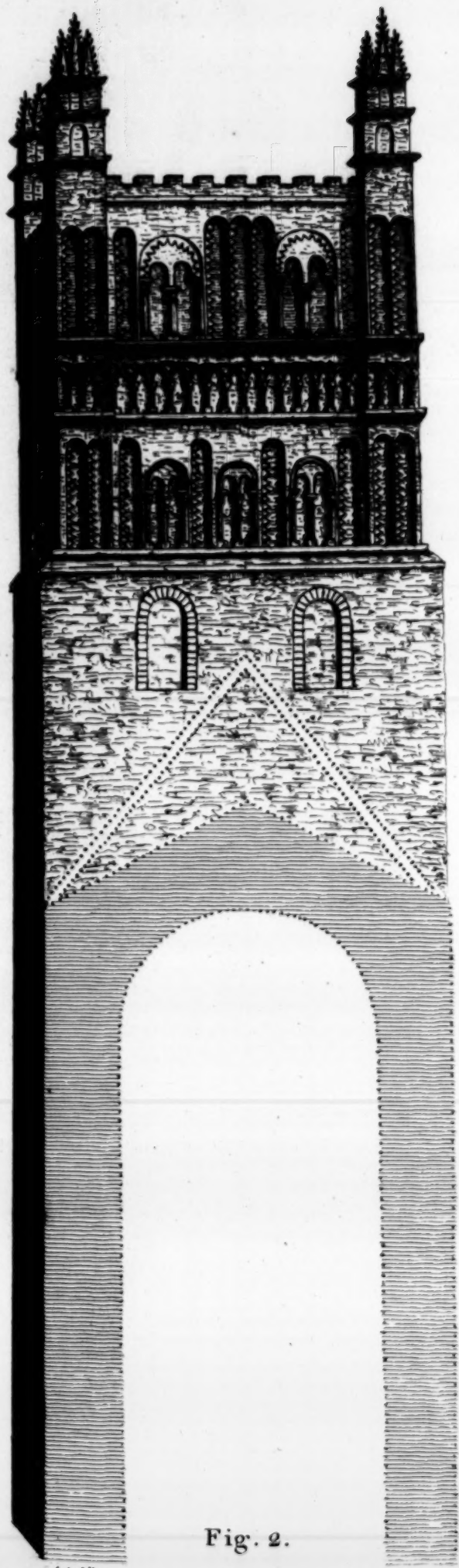


Fig. 2.

A.C. 440.

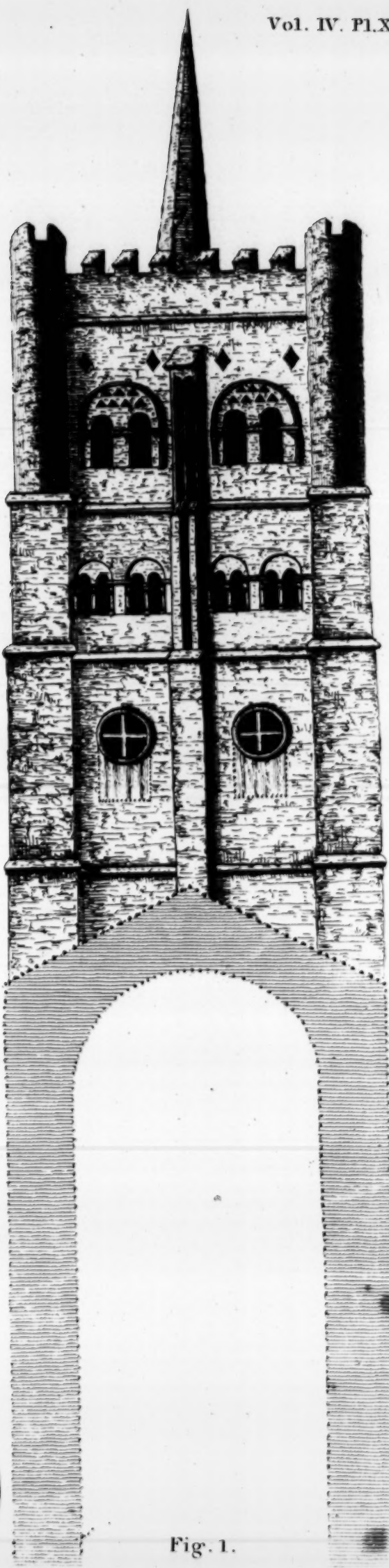


Fig. 1.

A.W. 602.



those at *Pershore*; and, like those, having a sort of open narrow walk, or gallery, in the wall behind them.—Whilst even higher up the arches, at (c), which seem to have partaken more of the additions, and alterations made in the time of Henry the First, than any other part, do yet not look like arches really of the age either of *William Rufus*, or of *Henry the First*; but like arches originally *Saxon*; and new modified afterwards, in those reigns.*

As in the Remains of Castles, so in the venerable Remains of Ecclesiastical Structures, it is very curious, to observe the manner in which the latest, and most recent Norman additions, have been added, both to the earlier Norman parts of these Structures, as well as to the original *Saxon* parts.

Here, at *St. Albans*, we see the Norman addition, joined on, in the coarsest manner possible, at the pillar, No. (5), in the plan; with an intercolumniation far less than the rest, being of twelve

* It ought just to be mentioned, that whereas it has been recorded, that *Paulinus*, the Abbot, rebuilt *Offa's* Church, out of stones, tyles, and other materials, removed from the old adjacent Roman City of *Verulam*; yet certain curious persons have imagined, that the bricks, for the steps of some of the round newel staircases, must have been made new, in his time; and could not have been Roman:† but for this supposition there is surely no decided authority; as we have very good reason to believe the construction of such newel staircases was well known in the time of the Romans.—It surely appears clear, both from *Trajan's* Pillar, and from the *Antonine* Pillar; the first of which has 123 steps; and the latter 206 steps;‡ and from what has been remarked with regard to the two Towers of *Pliny's* Villa, (in the preceding pages of this work, Vol. II. p. 208) that the Romans knew well, how to construct staircases.

There are two views, one of the south side, and one of the north side, of this venerable Structure at *St. Albans*, taken by my Antiquarian Predecessor *Daniel King*, inserted in *Dugdale's Monasticon*, p. 176, and 178.—There is also another of the north side, by *N. Hawksmoor*, inserted in *Stevens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon*, Vol. I. p. 233.—And a plan is inserted, p. 265; but none of these are so exact as such a Structure deserves they should be.

There is also a View of the south-west side, in *Grose's Antiquities*, and of the Abbot's Gateway, Vol. V.

And there is a representation of a part of the Great Nave; and also, a view into the South Transept, in *Mr. Pennant's Journey from Chester*, p. 262; where also may be seen, p. 264, a beautiful engraving of Abbot *Ramridge's* Tomb.

† See *Gough's Camden*, Vol. I. p. 347.

‡ See *Misson's Travels*, Vol. III. p. 154, Eng. ed. and Vol. II. p. 236, Fr. ed. where are Views of the Pillars. See also the plans and sections of the Staircases, and magnificent delineations of the Bas Reliefs, by *Bartoli*, engraved at Rome, 1674.

feet, eight inches only, instead of fifteen feet, four inches;—and with strange irregular work on the side where the joining is made.—We here find also an instant change, and total breaking off, of the whole style of Architecture;—and (instead of plain circular arches) pointed arches, that have at least thirteen separate beads, or plain filletting mouldings, in each.

The next Building that demands attention is, on every account, most surely the old Church at *Tewkesbury*, in Gloucestershire; and perhaps it should even have been mentioned first, as being a little prior in time. But the greater dignity of the *Royal Foundation*, at *St. Albans*, and its connexion with the great changes made in Religion, leading to the introducing of Papal Corruptions, was a sufficient inducement, (besides the existence of a former Saxon Church at *Verulam*,) to examine the Remains at *St. Albans*, almost before any other.

Tewkesbury, was a Monastery for *Benedictines*, founded by two great Saxon *Thanes*,—*Odo*,—and *Dodo*;—who were brothers; and had great ascendancy in *Mercia*, in the reigns of *Ethelred*, *Kenred*, and *Ethelbald*.—They were also great benefactors to the Church at *Pershore*, which has been already described; and were buried at *Pershore*; (where *Dodo** had previously professed himself a Monk).—Which circumstance may very well account for the great similarity there is, between some parts of the Building at *Tewkesbury*, and some parts of that at *Pershore*.

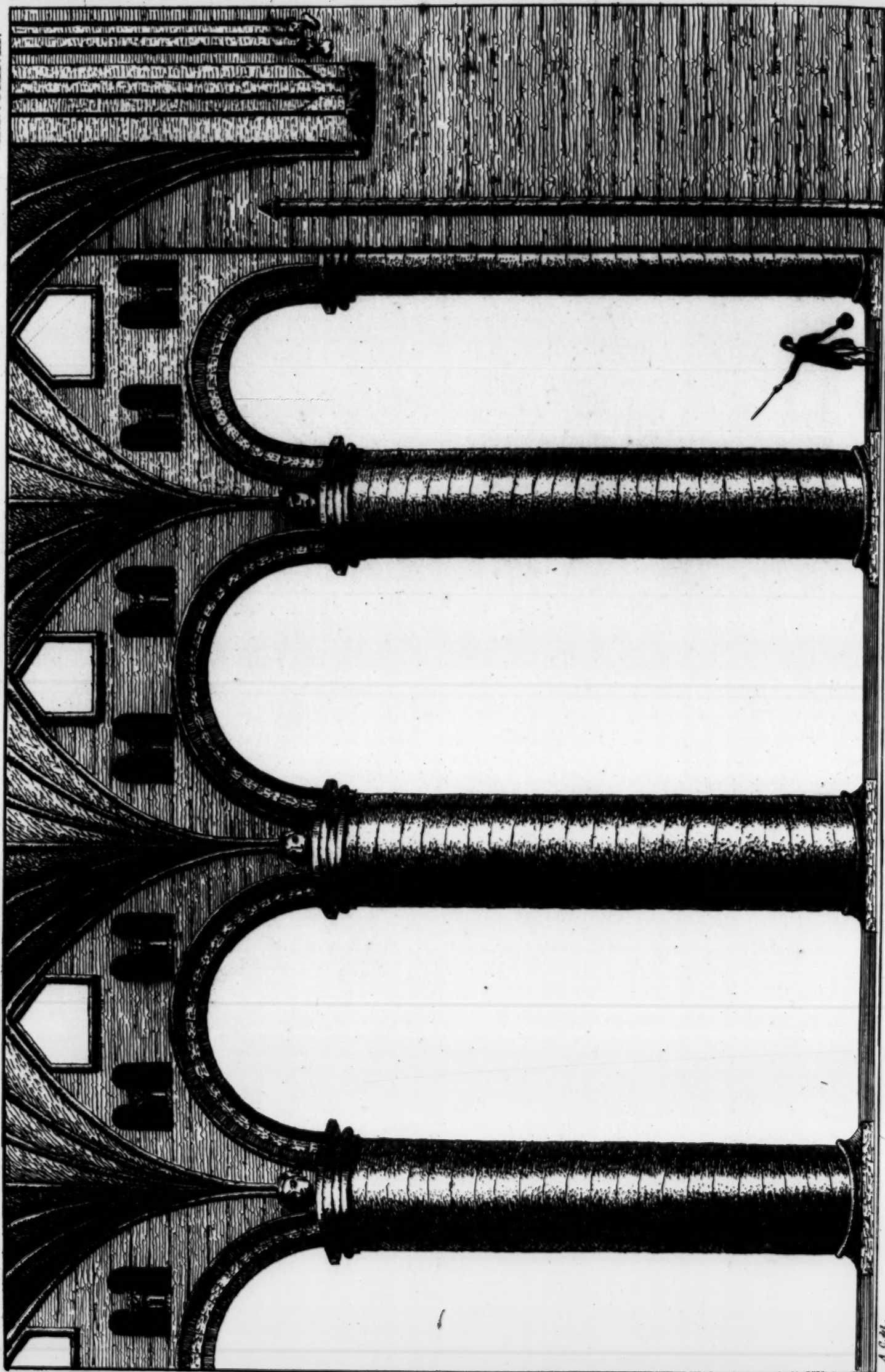
The first Church built by these two great Saxon *Thanes*, was several times plundered, and twice burnt by the Danes; which induced both *Leland*,† and *Camden*,‡ to think that it was entirely rebuilt, in 1102, by *Fitzhamon*.—But, as its being burnt a second time, without any account of re-edification, plainly shews the Structure was no otherwise damaged, than in the burning of the wooden roof, and wooden furniture; so we shall find *Leland*, and *Camden*, were mistaken, in the same manner, in this point, as in their accounts of the burning and destruction of *Antient Castles*: and

* See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 154.

† *Leland's Itinerary*, Vol. VI. p. 97.

‡ *Camden*, Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 260.





A. W. J. 1847.

A. C. 1847.

Part of the south side of the Nave of the Church at Tewkesbury.

Published by the Rev. J. H. Sturt, at the Rev. J. H. Sturt's, 1847.

that the old original Building, as to its walls, and pillars, does still remain, in many parts; as clearly distinguished, by its style of Architecture, from the magnificent additions of *Fitzhamon*, in 1102, as those parts themselves, built by *Fitzhamon* are, from the stone roof of the Nave, and from the parts of the Choir, built in much later ages.

Pl. XVIII represents, in as exact proportions as possible, the west part of the south side of the Nave of the Church at Tewkesbury.

We find here a style of Architecture, so truly corresponding with every *Saxon* idea; so unlike every thing *Norman*, either of the age of William Rufus, or of Henry the First; wherever any Architecture of either of their reigns can be perfectly ascertained;—so entirely unlike the magnificent works of *Fitzhamon* himself; or of *Fitzhamon*'s contemporaries, in every other place;—that we cannot but remain assured, that *these* are vestiges of Buildings that have survived *both* the fires of the Danes: and were preserved, when *Fitzhamon* made his noble additions.

Pillars, perfectly unlike any at *Norwich*, or at *Ely*, of the age of *Henry the First*.—Pillars, whose bases, proportions, and capitals, shew only *Saxon* ideas.—Pillars about six feet, four inches in diameter; but yet in reality *not exactly equal in their proportions*; (for one of them measured nineteen feet, eight inches and a half in girth;—and therefore must be about six feet, seven inches in diameter.—Pillars also having their intercolumniations *unequal*;—and crowned with capitals, (whose rude figures are carefully delineated in the drawing):—but which are neither like the fantastic capitals of the small *Saxon* Churches; nor like the more enriched ones of *Alfred's*, and of *Edgar's* times.

The intercolumniations are, some twelve feet; some twelve feet, one inch;—some twelve feet, two inches;—and one only eight feet, two inches.—And the heights of the pillars are, as nearly as may be, in the same proportion to the common height of a man, as they are represented in the drawing; that is, nearly about five diameters, or between thirty and forty feet high.

The great arches, resting upon these pillars, have none of the indented mouldings, or enrichments of *Norman* arches; nor any of the strange fancied variety of the smaller *Saxon*.—Between these arches, however, are placed, odd, rude, grotesque heads; each of which seems formerly to have supported a plain pilaster, reaching (as at St. Albans) quite up to an original wooden roof: but which are now made to support the more modern springing pointed arches, of the present stone roof, that was added *after* the time of Edward the First.

And above the great circular arches, appears plainly the old *Saxon* Wall; with those same kind of small arches, and pillars, that are seen in the upper part of the walls at *Pershore* :*—whilst here, as at *Pershore*, the capitals of the small clumsy pillars, that separate them, are much varied, and rendered *dissimilar* from each other, manifestly in the most designed manner.

Two of them are shewn exactly Pl. XXIV. Fig. (1) and (2).

In the upper part of the walls of the south Cross Isle, (or Transept), and of the north Cross Isle, all this appears even still more plainly; where these small arches also are placed still more irregularly.—In some parts two together; and in others one by itself.—We find there also, a rude square pilaster, against the wall, just as at St. Albans, for the support of an original wooden roof: but over this again, is the addition of the more modern stone roof.

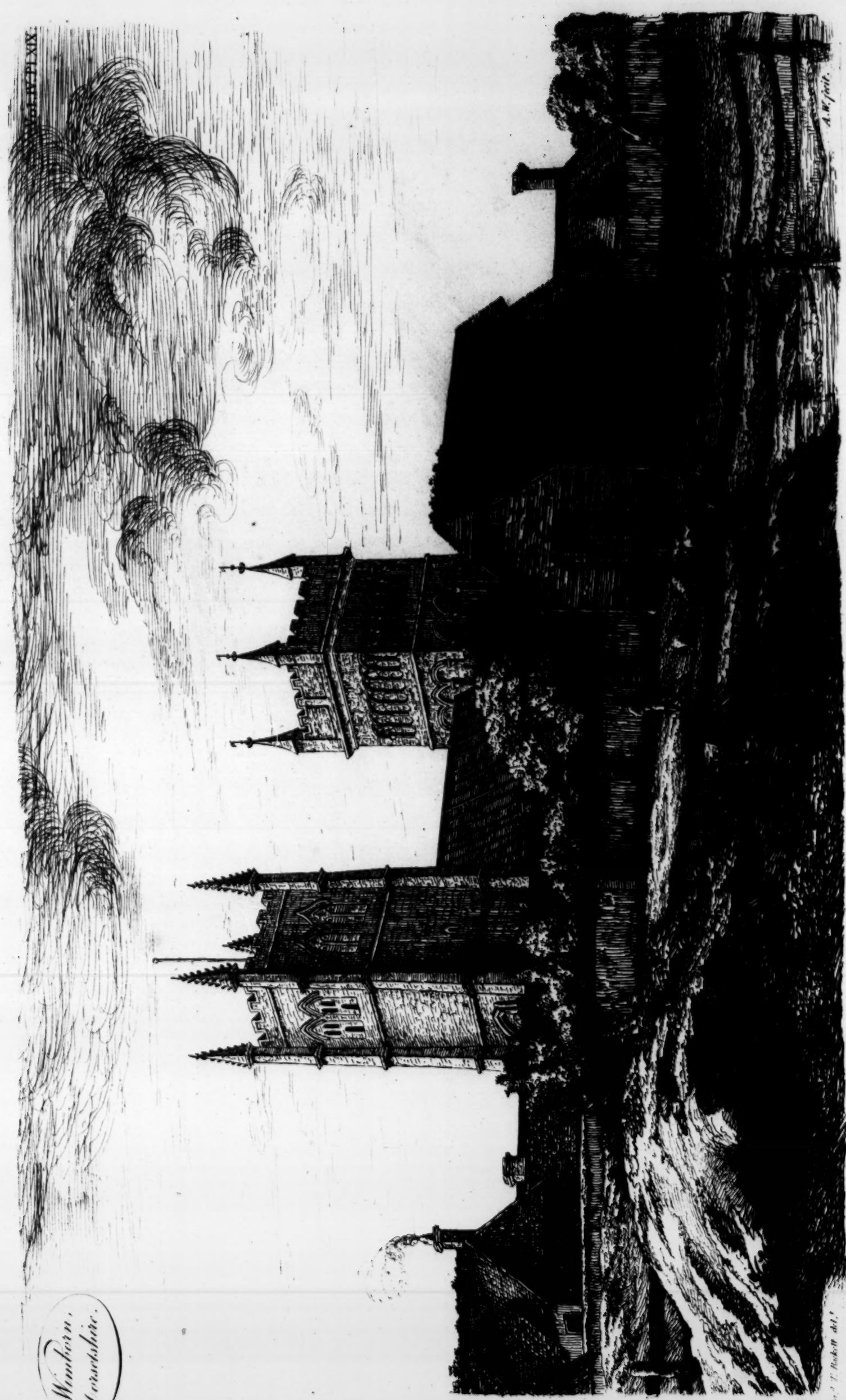
Having seen these decided vestiges of early *Saxon* Architecture, in so great a part of this Building; we, in the next place, are obviously led to enquire, where then was that Structure, which was the re-edification of *Fitzhamon*? For we are expressly told, by antient records,† that this extraordinary great man, the Son of *Hamon*, Lord of *Corboile* in Normandy; to whom William Rufus gave the honour of Gloucester, and who was afterwards *the first Conqueror of South Wales*, did, at the intreaty of *Sybill*, his Wife, restore, and rebuild, the Church of *Tewkesbury*, A. D. 1102;

* See Plate IX.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 154; Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 176; &c.



WIMBORNE PLATE XIX



Wimborne,
Dorsetshire.

and endowed the Monastery with great and new donations : and removed the greater establishment of Monks, which was before this time at *Craneburne* in Dorsetshire, to this place.*

And on looking around, we may very soon perceive the distinguished marks of his magnificent work, in a style perfectly different from the rude *Saxon*.

For, on the right hand side of Pl. XVIII. which shews where the south aisle joins to the west front of the Church ; we may observe, that beyond the arch under which, in the drawing the *Font* is placed, there is a space of flat blank

What sort of a structure was originally at *Craneburne*, does not sufficiently appear, so as to deserve any particular notice in this place.

But it would be an improper omission not to mention, that at *Winburn*, or *Winborne*, in the same county of Dorsetshire, in the year 713, *Cuthberga*, the Sister of *Ina*, King of the West Saxons, and Queen of Northumberland, preferring peace and retirement to the turbulence of a Court, founded a Religious House for Nuns ; in whose society she spent the remainder of her days.

In the Church of this her Foundation, were buried several *Saxon Kings* ; and amongst the rest, *Ethelred*, King of the West Saxons, who was slain A. D. 872 ; whose tomb is still preserved, and has been repaired. — And the crypt under the choir, with such parts of the Church as still bear evident marks of the *Saxon Architecture*, deserve well to be examined, by those who wish to compare the various specimens of the works of those early periods. — *Ethelred* having been the elder brother of the great King *Alfred*, the edifice in which his tomb was placed, notwithstanding reparations, and parts rebuilt, may well be expected to retain vestiges of the truly *Saxon* style. And we find that even *Leland*† who took so little notice of the different distinctions, in the peculiarities of buildings, was yet struck with this circumstance.

There is a very imperfect view of *Winburne* Minster, in *Grose's Antiquities*, Vol. V. ; or rather in the Supplement, Vol. I. drawn in 1784.

And I have therefore here inserted, Pl. XIX. one upon a larger scale, which I received from the Rev. Mr. Rackett ; and which is etched by the Honourable Mrs. H. Windsor ; and in which the correspondence of the antient *Saxon Tower*, with those early *Saxon* ones at *Sandwich*, and *Dover*, plainly appears. — Only it is to be remarked, that the battlements of this Tower have been repaired ; and that the middle arches of the lower row seem to have been somewhat altered in later days into pointed arches, as we have found was the case at *Pershore*.

The intersection of the uppermost arches, just in the same manner as on a part of the Tower at *Tewkesbury*, deserves much attention ; and especially as it was undoubtedly this sort of *intersection*, that first gave the idea of the *pointed arch*, long before the pointed arch was brought into common use.

* Camden, Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 46, 53.

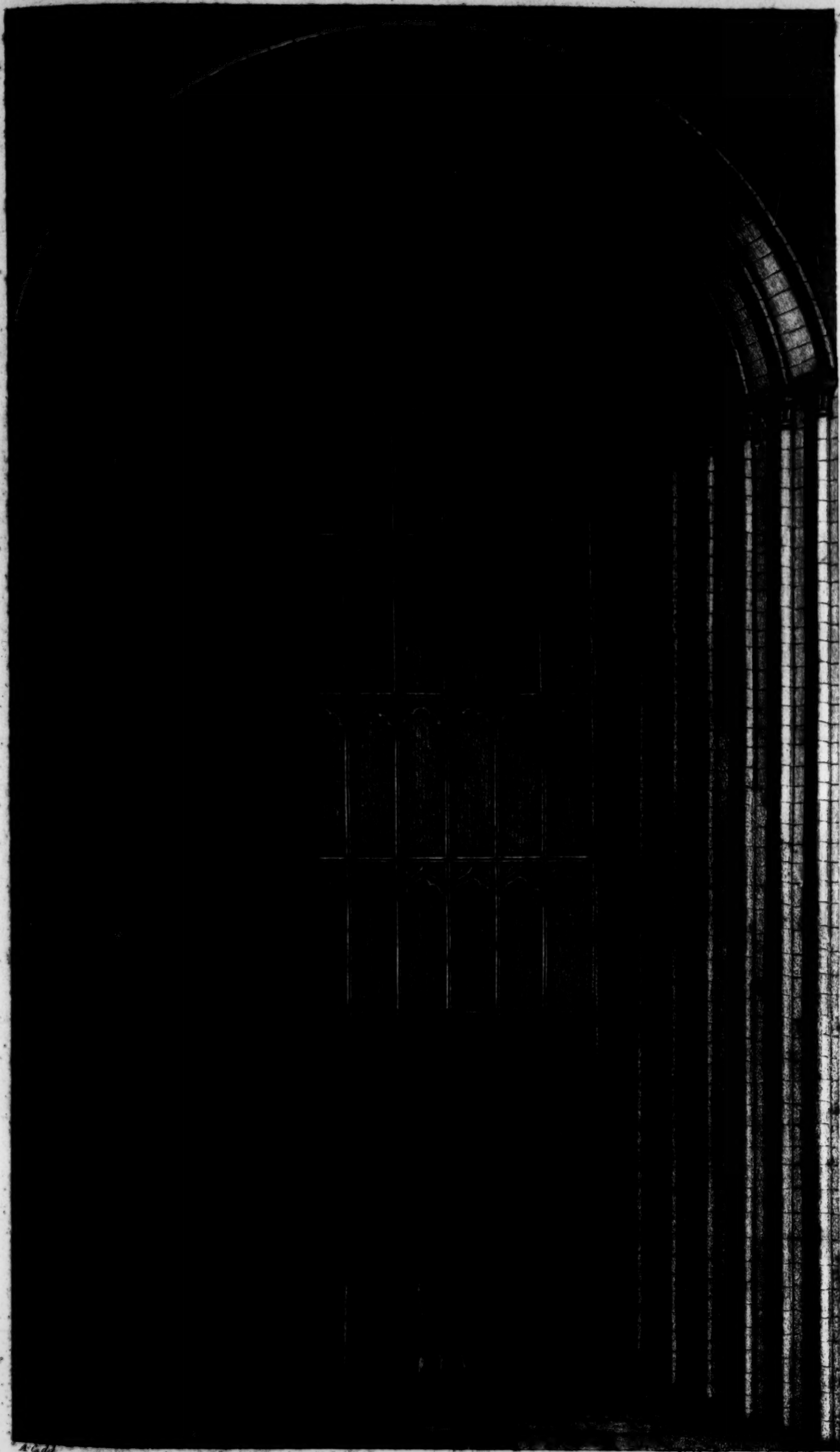
† Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. p. 55.

wall, which obviously appears, in the upper part, to have been joined, as *quite a new work*, to that old Saxon wall, wherein are the small arches; and to have been continued from thence, quite to the west front of the Building.—Whilst on the side of the new additional wall, high above appears, first a very remarkable truss, or large *bracket*, placed somewhat in the manner of a modillion, and resembling the figure of a man, as lying in a sleeping posture, with a long beard; and in a Saxon dress;—and beyond this, only a little higher up, are placed two men's busts; the one erect, and the other inclining a little; but both as smaller brackets.—And these three figures support the mouldings of three great arches, springing from them, which reach entirely across the Nave, and are sustained, on the north side, by three other figures, in like manner; only there the large figure, in the sleeping posture, forming the truss, or bracket, is that of a woman.

These magnificent great arches are on the inside of the Church:—and exactly corresponding with them, on the outside of the west front, is one of the most magnificent works in the Kingdom,—an high arched Portico;—shewn Pl. XX. in its just proportions.—A Portico, too magnificent for any thing Saxon;—yet, with circular arches, and too plain for any thing Norman, after the days of Henry the First.

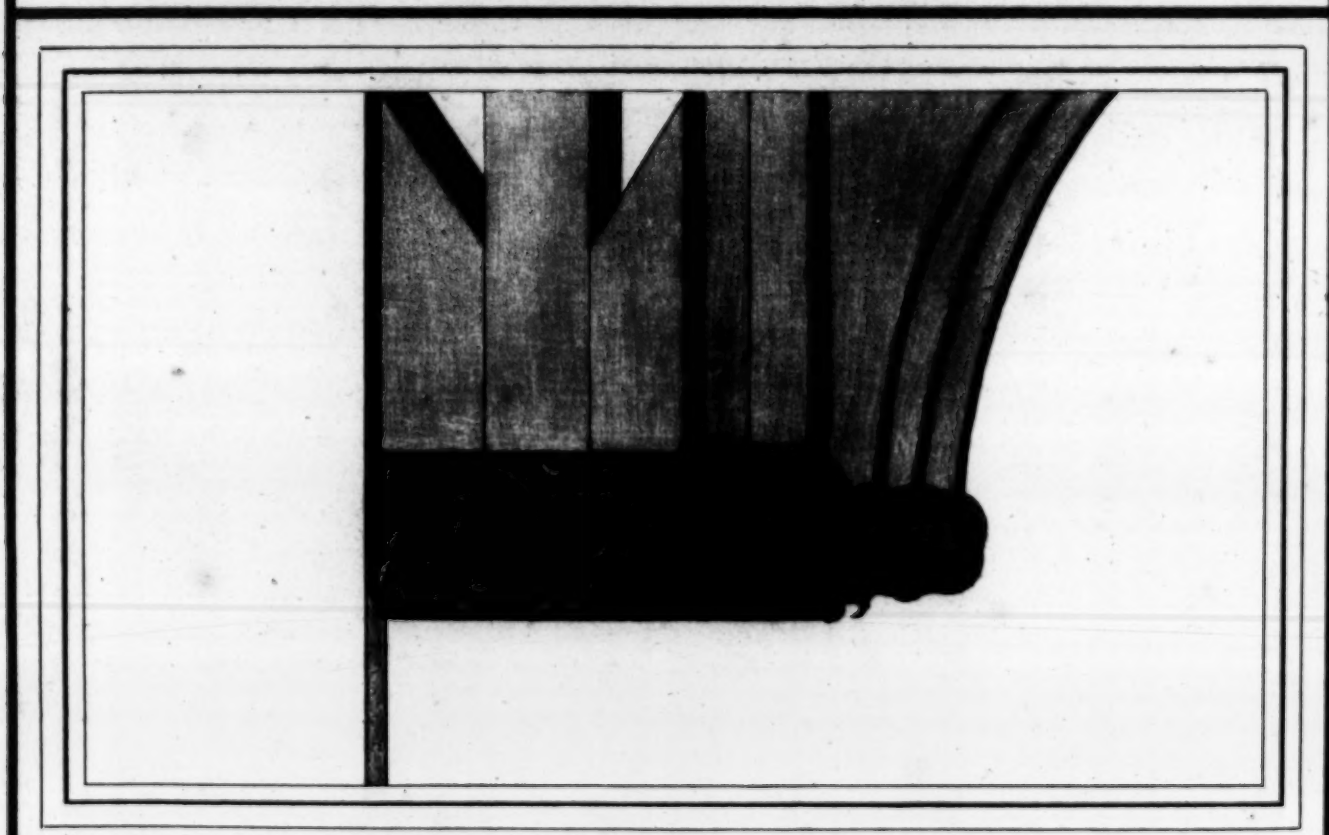
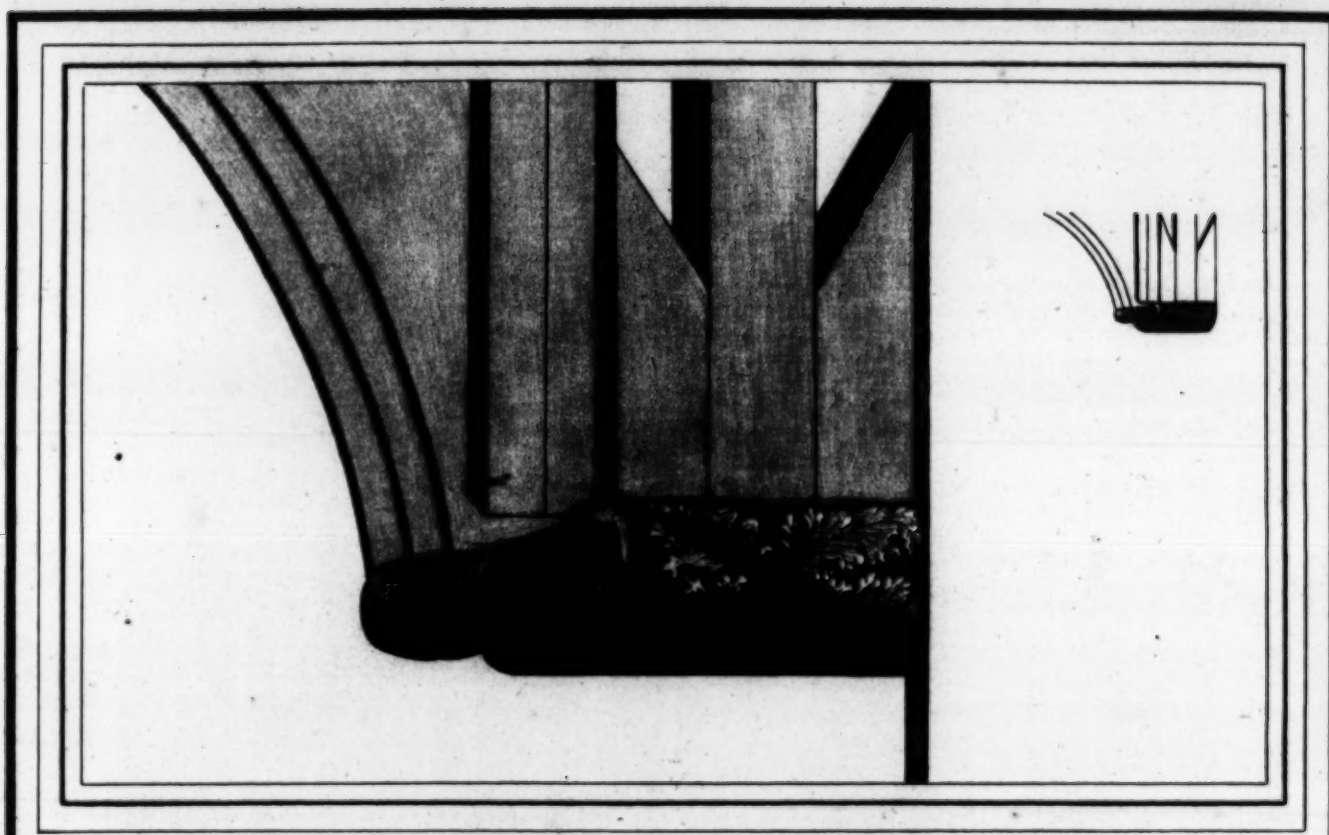
Here then, in these arches of the roof, and in this west Portico, at Tewkesbury, is a most obviously distinguished part of Fitzhamon's great work.—The west end of the Church, entirely rebuilt; and rebuilt in a style as magnificent as any age could devise.

The proportions of the Structure of this Portico are as follows:—its width, within the inmost arch, is twenty feet.—Its height to the capitals of the Pillars, at least fifty feet;—and to the crown of the inner arch about sixty feet;—as nearly as one can judge by the eye.—Its depth, from the front, measuring along the Pillars, is seven feet, three inches.—And of these Pillars, or rather Pilasters, there are six on each side; every one of them about one foot, one inch, in diameter;—and as they stand most boldly



Magnificent Norman Portico at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire.

J. Caldwell Sculp.



Very antient Trusses of Timber supporting Arches at Tewkesbury.

A.C. del.

J. Caldwell sculp.

projecting nearly with their whole diameter from the wall, the intercolumniations appear wider than they in reality are.

The concentric arches, forming the archivault above, are each quite flat underneath, but rounded in the front; which produces a most noble effect.—An effect, so bold and magnificent as to be very unlike any thing really *Saxon*; though this kind of Architecture is so misnamed.

An effect also, as unlike any thing *subsequently Norman*.—For, in the very next reign of Stephen, appeared, and was introduced into fashion, the *pointed Arch*; of which, a specimen of a Portico, with *hanging pointed arches*, (the most similar, except for the pointing of the arches, of any in England, to this grand Portico at Tewkesbury) is to be seen, in the Great Gate of Tunbridge Castle; built by the very next succeeding great Earl of *Gloucester*; and which will be particularly described in the following pages.

Whence then could this magnificent idea in Architecture proceed?—Hardly from *Fitzhamon* himself.—For his thoughts were occupied with martial deeds.—Hardly from his builder; for then surely we should have seen more instances of it, in some other parts of the Kingdom.—Perhaps, therefore, it is no more than a just suspicion, to suspect, that it proceeded either from *Sybill*, his Wife, (the Sister of the Earl of Shrewsbury,*) who had been the real original first promoter of all the munificence *Fitzhamon* bestowed at Tewkesbury: or else from *Gerald*, Abbot of *Craneburne*, whose Patroness she was, and whom she removed hither.

And this idea seems to be confirmed, by the figure of the great bracket, or truss, on the north side of the Nave: which may fairly be deemed to represent *Sybill* herself; as that on the south side does *Fitzhamon*.

Both are shewn, on a sufficiently large scale, carefully delineated, Pl. XXI.—and let it not be thought too great a partiality to the female sex;—to those excellent women, who seem to have been, from age to age, some of the first promoters of whatever was ingenious, and good, in this Country;—thus to endeavour

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 154.

to bring to light, what perhaps their humbleness, and modesty, alone concealed.

An endeavour has been honestly made, to detect some instances of their sincere, pious efforts, in the preceding pages: and it surely may be allowed to proceed thus far:—especially if it be considered, that either *Sybill*, or *Gerald*, might have taken a first hint for such a noble Structure, even from the Portico, though so low, at Hereford Chapel.—For a little after Odo, and Dodo's time, at least, is not a little before it, we ought to place the first Building of *that* most curious Structure, which remained so long at Hereford; the Chapel of *St. Catherine*, adjoining to the Bishop's Palace; built in the form of a square, of about forty feet only within; whose four pillars, supporting its arched roof, were each of single stones only, twelve feet high, it having, like the old Sanctuary at Westminster, another Chapel over it;—and whose arched Portico, nineteen feet and one half deep, with its archivault of hanging, flying arches above, might easily enough suggest an idea of constructing a still more noble, similar Portico at Tewkesbury.—There was a little sort of Sanctuary, or Choir, at the east end of this small Building; a recess not more than fifteen feet wide, and fifteen feet deep; more in the style of a *Greek Church*, than almost any thing in this Country: and therefore a sure proof of the very high antiquity of the Building.*

The magnificent Portico at *Tewkesbury*, has, however, most unquestionably, additional ornaments, beyond what belonged to it originally;—for the great pointed Window, could not be inserted *before* the time of Edward the First; and was most likely inserted about the same time with that which we shall hereafter have occasion to describe, at *Norwich*; namely in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

The great door also appears, from the peculiar style of its arched ornaments, to have been of the same date; concerning all which

* See Stukeley's *It. Cur.* Vol. I. p. 68. See also, a curious engraving, in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. I. Pl. XLIX. And there is also a small engraving of this Structure, in Gough's *Camden*, Vol. II. Pl. XIV. p. 452.

there will be occasion to make some further observations hereafter.

As this magnificent west front was the work of *Fitzhamon*, so, in the Tower of the Church we may perceive some ornaments at least of his addition.—Whether the Tower was originally built by him, is much to be doubted, from several parts of its Architecture; which rather seem to indicate its having been the work of some Architect, in the days of King Edgar.—But some of the *indented* mouldings of the arches, in the Tower:—with a part of the *intersecting circular arches*, do certainly indicate some of the ornaments of this beautiful Structure to have been of his age; and therefore a part of his superb work.

It is represented very exactly, Pl. XVII. fig. 2.

In the Choir of *Tewkesbury* Church, are most beautiful vestiges of additions made in the time of Edward the First.—The massy Pillars that support the walls are obviously *Saxon*, the same as those in the Nave; only they seem to have had their upper parts taken down, and to have been so much shortened, that they are now not more than ten or twelve feet high; and have *pointed Arches* placed upon them: whilst from the fronts of the capitals of these Pillars, rise very beautiful slender round pilasters, against the flat wall; crowned with large disproportioned capitals, in the form of *basons*, at least six times as much in diameter as the pilasters themselves, and adorned with mosaic scrolls, and historical figures: from which basons spring the beautiful high pointed Arches, that support the stone roof.—One of these pilasters, with its *bason* capital, is represented Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 3.—Beneath which is shewn the lower part of the long slender pilaster, that rests upon the old *Saxon* column. And notwithstanding the strange disproportion, the whole together has a fine effect to the eye, as seen in the Choir.

In this interesting Building, rest the bones of *Fitzhamon* himself;*

* Interred in 1107, in the Chapter-house:—but in 1241 his bones were wrapt in fine diaper, and interred in a tomb, over which, in 1397, Parker, the eighteenth Abbot, caused a Chapel, of carved stone open work, to be erected.—See Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I. p. 407.

of the *Clares*, Earls of Gloucester;* of the *D'Espencers*;† of the Earl of *Worcester*, and Countess of *Warwick*;‡ of George Duke of *Clarence*,§ who (as Shakspeare relates from our antient Historians) was drowned in a butt of Malmsey Wine, in the Tower; of *Edward*, Prince of Wales,|| Son of Henry the Sixth, slain in cold blood near this very Church; and of those turbulent warriors, *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerset*,¶ and the Lord *Wenlock*: with those

* Severally interred, in the years, 1230, 1262, 1295, 1314.—The second of these Earls, the celebrated *Richard*, usually kept his Christmas at Tewkesbury; and had sixty Knights to wait upon him.—Dugdale says he was twice poisoned; losing his hair and nails the first time; and his life the second.—Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 212, 1213.

† The younger *Spencer* was executed at Hereford, and quartered 1326; but some of his limbs were privately buried here. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 394.—The other *D'Espencers* were interred 1349, and 1375. The last is supposed to have been the person whose effigies is placed in a kneeling posture on the top of his little Chapel: and he is said to have been created Earl of Devonshire; but that does not appear from Dugdale's account. See Baronage, Vol. I. p. 396; and seems to have been a mistake.

‡ Interred 1439.

§ Interred 1477, or rather 1478.—Holinshed (p. 703) says it was on the 11th of March that he was drowned.

|| Interred in 1471.—Having been taken prisoner, at the Battle of Tewkesbury, and being brought before Edward the Fourth, in one of the Houses near the Church, that King, provoked at his high spirit, and stout words, struck him with his gauntlet; whereupon the Duke of *Clarence*, (just mentioned,) and *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, with some other courtiers, murdered him.—See Holinshed, p. 683.

¶ Interred 1471.—The Duke of Somerset, Holinshed tells us, p. 683, provoked at a mistake in the Battle of Tewkesbury, which he imputed to the Lord Wenlock, struck his brains out with a battle-ax.—Afterwards being taken prisoner, he was himself beheaded.—They now lie in tombs opposite each other.

In Stevens's Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon, is a plan of the Church at Tewkesbury, in which several of the tombs are marked; but some not accurately;—that of the Duke of *Clarence* being mistaken for one of the *Spencers*: and that, where the bones of the Duke of Somerset lie, being called a tomb of one of the Abbots. For the latter mistake, however, there seems to be some excuse; because it is probable the tomb might have originally been that of an Abbot, before the Duke's headless trunk was laid in it.

There is a view also of the south side of the Church inserted in the Monasticon, p. 153.—And another more modern one has been engraved at Worcester.—But neither of them do justice to the Building.

More accurate by far are the interesting representations in Mr. Lysons's very curious publication of the Antiquities of Gloucestershire;—where may be seen, in addition to the view I have given, another part of the Nave of Tewkesbury Abbey, Pl. LXXVI.—

of many other unhappy human beings, slain on both sides in the Battle of *Tewkesbury*;—human beings who could not dwell together in peace on earth; but whose ashes, thus heaped together, for a succession of ages, are now found, in that state, “where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary be at rest.”*

The next most distinguished antient Structure, that demands our attention, is one, whose style of Architecture, and real state, has perhaps been the most mistaken of any in the Kingdom, from some strange circumstances.—And this is, the Cathedral at *Gloucester*.

We know, from the most authentic Records, and from the best authority,† that a Church, and Nunnery, were actually built here, about A. D. 680, by *Osríc*, (or *Osrick*), (afterwards King of Northumberland,) a near relation of *Ethelred*, King of Mercia; and partly at the expence of *Ethelred*, and of his Queen *Elfleda*; who having made the original grant to *Osrick*, spared no cost in the undertaking.—*Ethelfleda* also, the Daughter of King *Alfred*, with her Husband *Ethelred*, *Earl of Mercia*, afterwards bestowed cost upon it.—We know, also, that it was a foundation of such distinguished dignity, that even three Royal Ladies were successively Abbesses.—First, *Kineburga*, Daughter of *Penda*, Sister to *Osrick*, and Wife of *Alfred*, King of Northumberland; who continued here twenty years.—Secondly, *Eadburga*, Wife of *Wolphere*, King of Mercia; who continued here twenty-five years.—And thirdly, *Evah*, or *Easa*, the Wife of *Wolphere*, Son of

and also a view of the West End of the Church, Pl. LXX.—and of the East End, Pl. LXXV.—There is also an inside view of a part of the Cloister, Pl. LXXVII. and an inside view of the Choir, Pl. LXXVIII. which affords a very illustrating comparative representation of the additional *Norman work*, in the upper part of the Building, of the age of Edward the First.—In Pl. LXXIX. also, is a view of the Trinity Chapel.—In Pl. LVI. a view of some stone Stalls.—And in Pl. XLV. LVII. LXXI. LXXII. and C. are representations of Tombs; all which tend still further to shew, comparatively, the very different styles of Architecture, introduced in this Church, in subsequent ages, in addition to the *Saxon*.

* Job, ch. iii. v. 17.

† See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 108.

Penda, and as some conclude also of *Ethelred*;^{*} who continued here no less than thirty-three years; dying in the reign of *Offa*.

We have every reason to conclude, therefore, that the first Church, thus built, was a Structure not less costly, or strong, than either *Pershore*, or *Tewkesbury*, or *Ely*; or even than *St. Albans*; and that its remains might well be expected to continue to this very hour.

But we are told, that this Church, and Religious House, were destroyed by the Danes; and lay waste above fifty years:—after which *Bernulph*, King of Mercia, new built the Monastery A. D. 821, and placed *Secular Priests* therein, with their families, instead of Nuns: and that these were again displaced by King *Canute*, at the instigation of *Wolstan*, Bishop of Worcester; when *Benedictine Monks* were placed in their room.

And then we are informed, that a second Church was built, about A. D. 1058, by *Aldred*, Bishop of Worcester, (who was afterwards Archbishop of York, and crowned King William the Conqueror);—and that even a third, still more magnificent, was begun by Abbot *Serlo*, Chaplain to William the Conqueror, about A. D. 1089; which was finished, and consecrated, A. D. 1100.†

But this, again, being burnt, together with the whole City, A. D. 1122, we are much too hastily led to conclude, that there was, about that period, another entire re-edification; though there is no certain Record concerning that matter, either as to the time when, or the person by whom it was built;—the precise parts of the Building, whose dates are clearly ascertained by any written Records, being only such as began to be constructed, in the time of Henry the Third, near an hundred years afterwards.‡

With regard to the Structures raised by Abbot *Serlo*, and again after the great fire; *Dugdale* fairly leaves us to conclude, that they were indeed merely *great repairs, and additions* to the Church

* See *Dugdale's Monasticon*, p. 993; where, however, it may be observed that the Latin words may be otherwise translated.

† *Dugdale Monasticon*, p. 994.

‡ *Browne Willis*, Vol. I. p. 113.

§ *Ibid.* p. 114.

that had *before* that time been erected.—But still, both *Camden*,* and *Dugdale*, evidently (though, as it appears to me, mistakenly) supposed the present Church to have been entirely a *new Structure*, reared from the foundation, by *Aldred*, about 1058.—And the prevalence of this prejudice goes so far, that the guides, who shew the Cathedral, lead you (with much absurdity) to some *pointed arches*, in an old wall beyond the cloisters, on the north side of the Church, and even shew them as being the remains of the former Church, *before Aldred's time*.—And the *Editor of Camden*, still more strangely, and hastily, concluded, that the arches they thus shew, were the remains of the very Church built by Aldred 1058; and that, therefore, the present Cathedral was of still later date.—For he says expressly† *the body of the old Church built 1058 by Aldred, forms a lane*.

The whole idea, however, of the present Church being thus entirely built from the ground, either by *Bishop Aldred*, or after his time, is supported merely by an expression in a manuscript, that is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester; and the extract from which is inserted in the *Monasticon*;‡ wherein it is said, that *Aldred* built his Church on a spot, *a little distant from where the former stood*: but that manuscript itself plainly appears to have been of no high antiquity; because it brings the account, contained therein, down to the time even of Henry the Seventh.

Laying aside therefore *the authority* of this Manuscript, the Author and Writer of which could have no better guide to direct his opinion, than we now have: whilst, for want of investigating the regular progress of Architecture, he could not probably have any such degree of light, as is afforded to us.—Laying aside this mere *ipse dixit*; this very slight authority; let us consider obvious facts, and appearances, that cannot well be mistaken.

And let any one fairly compare the precise Architecture of the present Cathedral at *Gloucester*, with the old work at *Tewkesbury*;

* See Camden; Gough's ed. Vol. I. p. 261.

† See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

‡ P. 994.

and he will soon not only find reason to be convinced that the identical old first Church of the antient Nunnery does still in part remain; but he will plainly also perceive, *where*, and *how*, the new works were added by *Aldred*, and *Serlo*; and *what* the other additions, rebuildings, and alterations, that have been made, at so many various times, really were.—And he will even unavoidably perceive, that the first original Church was no more utterly destroyed, as to its pillars and walls, either by the Danes, or afterwards by the fire in 1122, than *Aldred's*, or *Serlo's* Church was by the fires in 1214, or 1223,* an hundred years afterwards, or than the still existing walls of so many antient Castles (said to have been destroyed over and over again) really were.

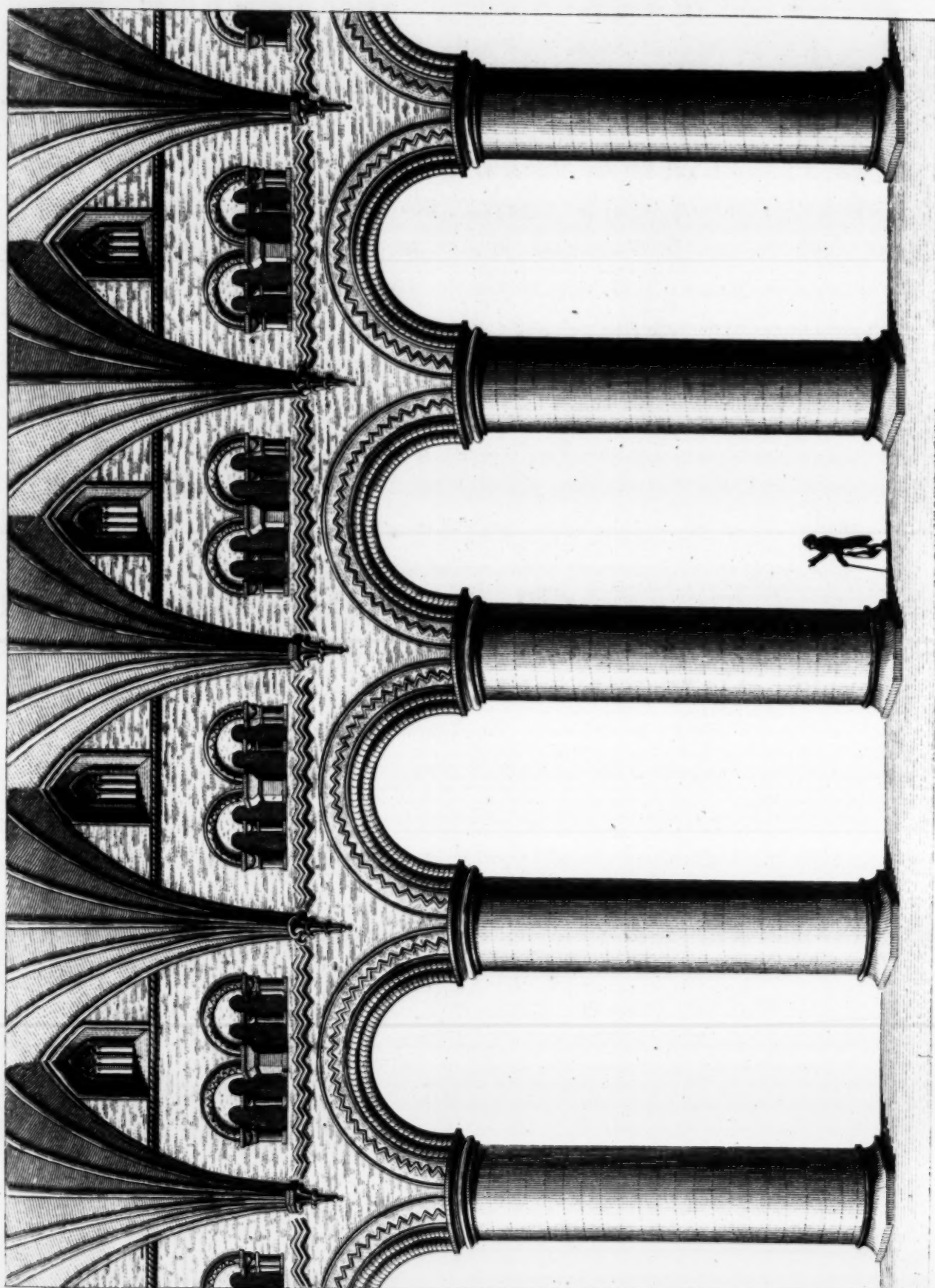
Pl. XXII. shews a part of the north side of the great Nave at Gloucester;—and at the first glance it may be observed, that here we do not find any pillars at all resembling those great square ones of the time of William Rufus, or of Henry the First; such as are usually met with in the Structures of that age; as at *St. Albans*, at *Norwich*, and at *Ely*;—neither do we find such as are seen in any part of the Church supposed to be built by Bishop *Gundulph*, at *Rochester*; (although *Gundulph* is said, in unquestionable records, to have assisted at the consecration of *Aldred's* Church at Gloucester;†) but we find pillars very nearly both of such forms, and of such proportions, as those truly old Saxon ones of *Odo*, and *Dodo*, at *Tewkesbury*.

These pillars at Gloucester, however, have now their Arches enriched, and adorned with ornaments; which, when we compare them with others at *Hereford*, and elsewhere, appear most clearly to have been such as were introduced in the age of *William the Conqueror*.

Here, therefore, we may most plainly detect, *what* Bishop *Aldred* begun; and *what* Abbot *Serlo* finished.—They seem evidently to have left the old Saxon Pillars of *Osrick* standing.

* See an account of these fires in the *Monasticon*, p. 994.

† See the *Monasticon*, p. 110; and *Brownie Willis*, Vol. I. p. 119. The other Bishops, besides *Gundulph*, who assisted, were *Sampson*, Bishop of Worcester; and *Henry*, Bishop of Bangor.





just as they were before; or at most only repaired them;—and added, or at least ornamented the Arches above;—and either rebuilt, or ornamented anew the wall from thence up to the roof; which was then at first framed merely of timber; but being afterwards burnt, in 1223, had the present beautiful stone roof constructed in its room, nearly about the time of Edward the First.

The whole of this idea is greatly confirmed, by the very masonry of the pillars.—For an attempt having been begun, a few years ago, to flute some of them, it was discovered, that they were filled up, on the inside, only with loose irregular stones.*—A circumstance that at once defeated the attempt; and surely indicated that they could by no means be either of *Aldred's*, or of *Serlo's* rearing.

These pillars are about six feet, nine inches in diameter; but, like those at Tewkesbury, are not all exactly of the same proportions: for one of them measures twenty-one feet, eight inches in girth, and therefore must be about seven feet, two inches in diameter.—They are also, like those at *Tewkesbury*, between thirty and forty feet in height, and have just the same kind of Capitals† as those.—And their intercolumniations are here only a very little more; being in general about twelve feet, four inches; whereas those are only twelve feet, one inch, or twelve feet, two inches.

They are therefore, surely, truly *Saxon*.

And though the ornaments of the Arches have just the same indented zigzag mouldings, that were so prevalently in fashion, all over the kingdom, in *Gundulph's*, and in *Serlo's* time:—and so also have the little Arches above; and the mouldings on the walls;—yet the little Arches themselves, which, divested of their ornaments, are so much smaller, and so very unlike those constructed in *William the Conqueror's* time at *Hereford*, that will be described hereafter, and so exceedingly, both in dimensions,

* See the account of this attempt in Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

† These kind of Capitals also are found, in the old *Saxon* part of the Church at *Malvern* in *Worcestershire*.

and form, like those at *Tewkesbury*,* and *Pershore*,† may induce us to suspect, that even *they*, as well as the great Arches, and Pillars beneath, were indeed a part of the old original work reared by *Osrick*, in 681 or 682, and were afterwards thus ornamented in *Serlo's* time.

Of such ornaments, added upon old original Arches, we have many instances.—And in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, there are not only Arches of the time of *William Rufus*, some with those ornaments, and some without; but on the south side, near the organ, there is one in part finished, with such ornaments, and in part unfinished, as it was originally; wherein (even till my time, and till the repairs of that Church about 1765) the very iron tool, which the last workman (who there lost his life) used, in the days of *Henry the First*, was left fixed in the wall, as a memorial of the sad accident which happened, of his falling from the scaffold, and being killed upon the spot;—in consequence of which event, the work was stopped, and this Arch left in an unfinished state; half as it was in the time of *William Rufus*, and half as in the time of *Henry the First*.

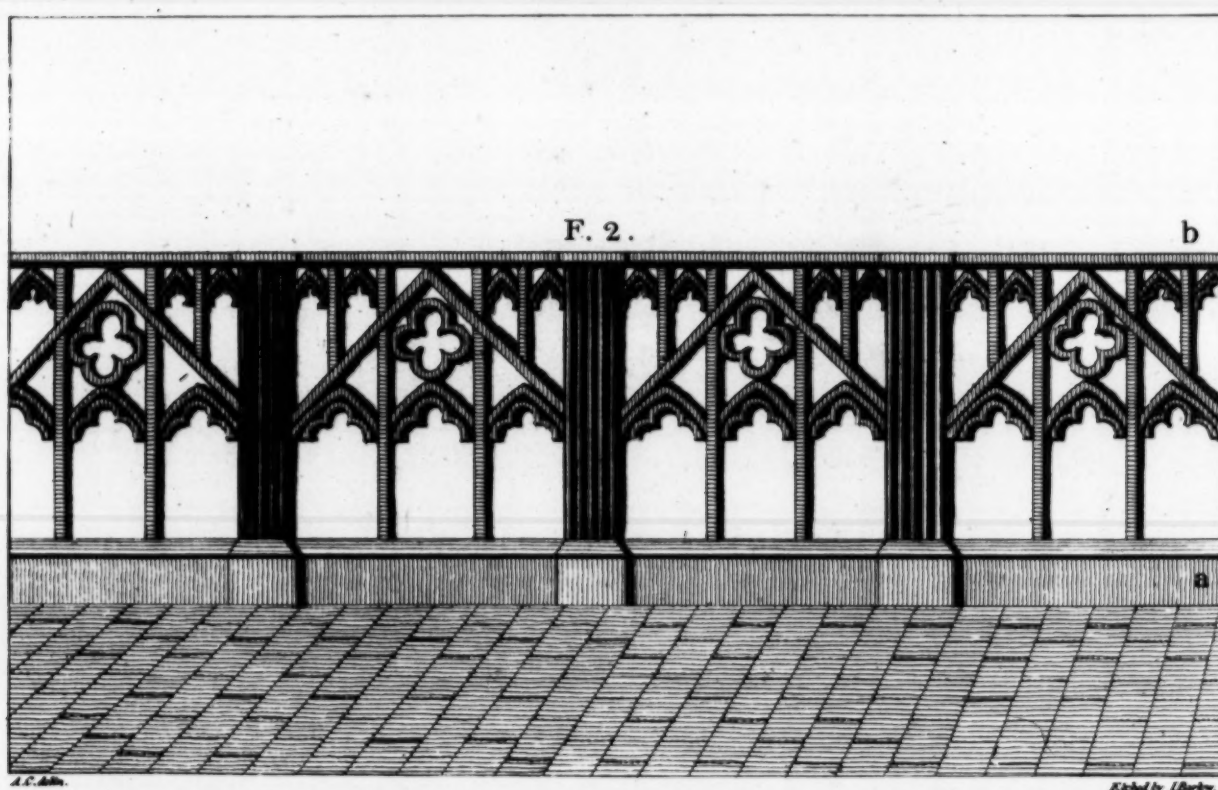
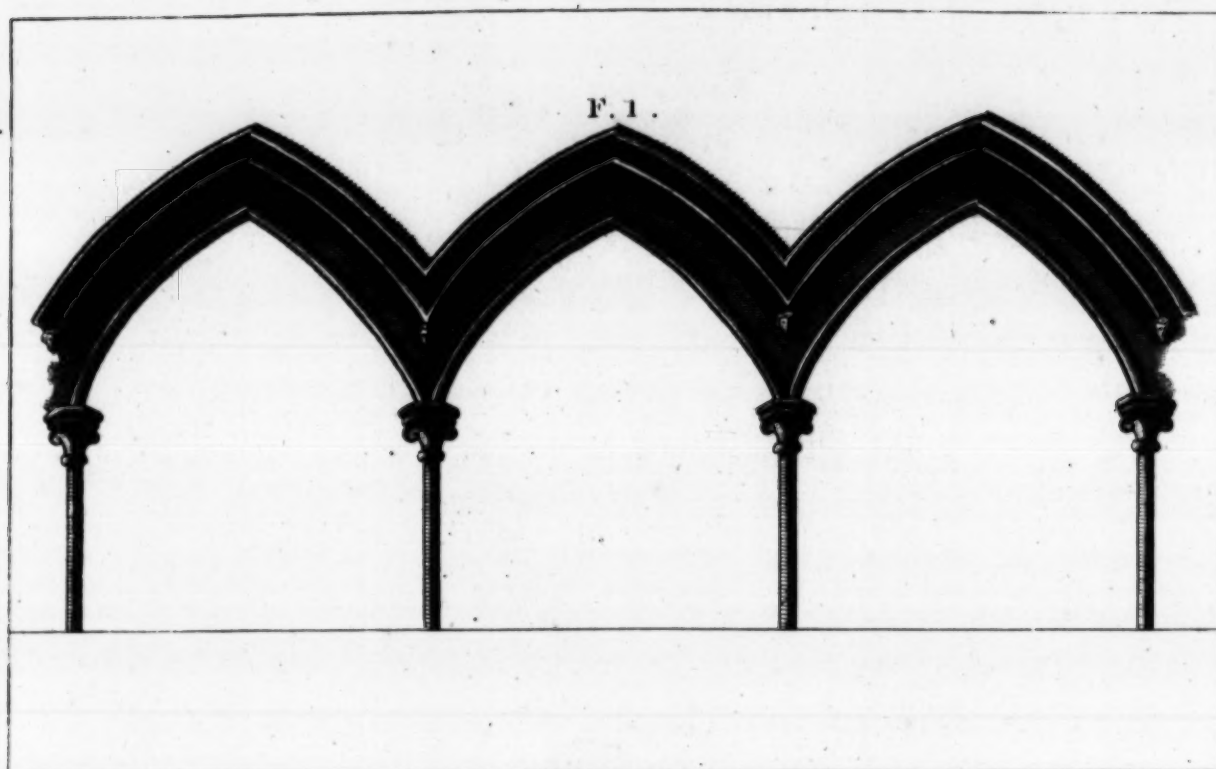
Over these works of *Aldred's*, and *Serlo's*, we perceive, in Pl. XXII. windows, as at *Tewkesbury*, close to the modern stone roof, with flat pointed Arches, exactly of the kind that came into such common use, in the days of *Edward the First*.—And against the wall, beautiful corbels, or consoles, of the same age, as brackets, supporting the roof; one of which is represented more at large Pl. XXIV. No. 1, fig. 3.

Having thus examined what so fairly appears to have been a part of the Structure of the old original Church of *Osrick*; come we now to examine those Remains, which are shewn by the guides; and are erroneously taken to be the remains either of that old Church, or of the Church built by *Aldred* 1358; and are even mentioned as being such, by the Editor of *Camden*, under an idea that both *Aldred's* and *Serlo's* Buildings were entirely new Structures, raised quite from the ground, and on quite a different spot from the first old Church.

* See Pl. XVIII.

† See Pl. IX.





Singular Arches at Gloucester.

Published as the Act directs, by M^{rs}. Nicol.

—Pl. XXIII. fig. 1, represents three of the four Arches, which, as Mr. Gough* truly says, do now *form the side of a Lane*, leading from the door of the old Cloisters; and they are now (like some of the Arches of the Abbey Church at Bury) filled up with the Building of the fronts of small modern Houses;—and are generally called, *Remains of the body of the old Church*.

But nothing can be more clear, upon the very first view of them, than that such *pointed Arches*, so ornamented, and with such *Pillars*, could never have been either of the age of *Osric*, A. D. 681; or of that of *Aldred*, A. D. 1058.

They are as obviously as can be, of the age of *Edward the First*.—The peculiar style of the Arches; the Capitals; the slender Pillars; every circumstance of these Remains, demonstrate this fact.—And the Cloisters, close to which they adjoin, are peculiarly of an odd species of Architecture, introduced in that age.

A part, of one of the sides of these Cloisters, is represented in the same Pl. XXIII. fig. 2.—Its straight lines, instead of Arches, are very remarkable; and so also is the low appearance of the whole:—for at (a) is the floor; and the roof springs from (b); and its whole length is only about fifty-one feet.

There can hardly rest a doubt, therefore, but that the supposed *Remain of the body of the old Church*, instead of being any such thing, was merely a part, either of the *Refectory*, which was built in A. D. 1246, by Abbot *John de Felda*;† or of the *Dormitory*, which was built in A. D. 1303, by Abbot *John Gamages*: and the peculiar situation of these Remains, so nearly adjoining to the Cloisters, which seem evidently from their Architecture, to have been of the time of Edward the First, plainly speaks the same language: as also do the apparent dimensions of the Building.

The obvious remains of the real old Church, are to be discerned, not only in the Nave of the present Cathedral; but still more especially *in the Crypt*, under the Choir; where is evidently seen, the manner, in which the old *Saxon* Pillars originally stood; and indeed do still remain;—and which formed a *Saxon* Church,

* Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. I. p. 271.

† See Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 114, 115.

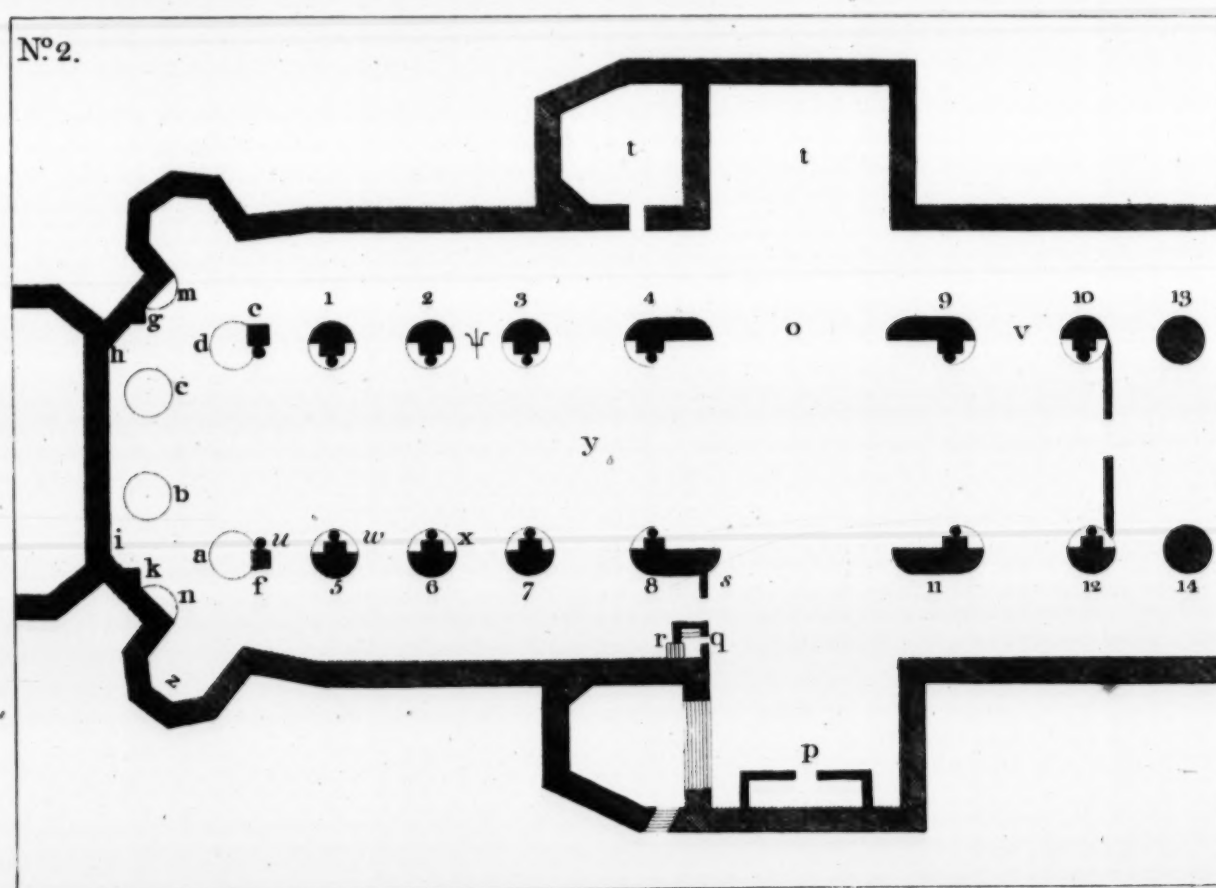
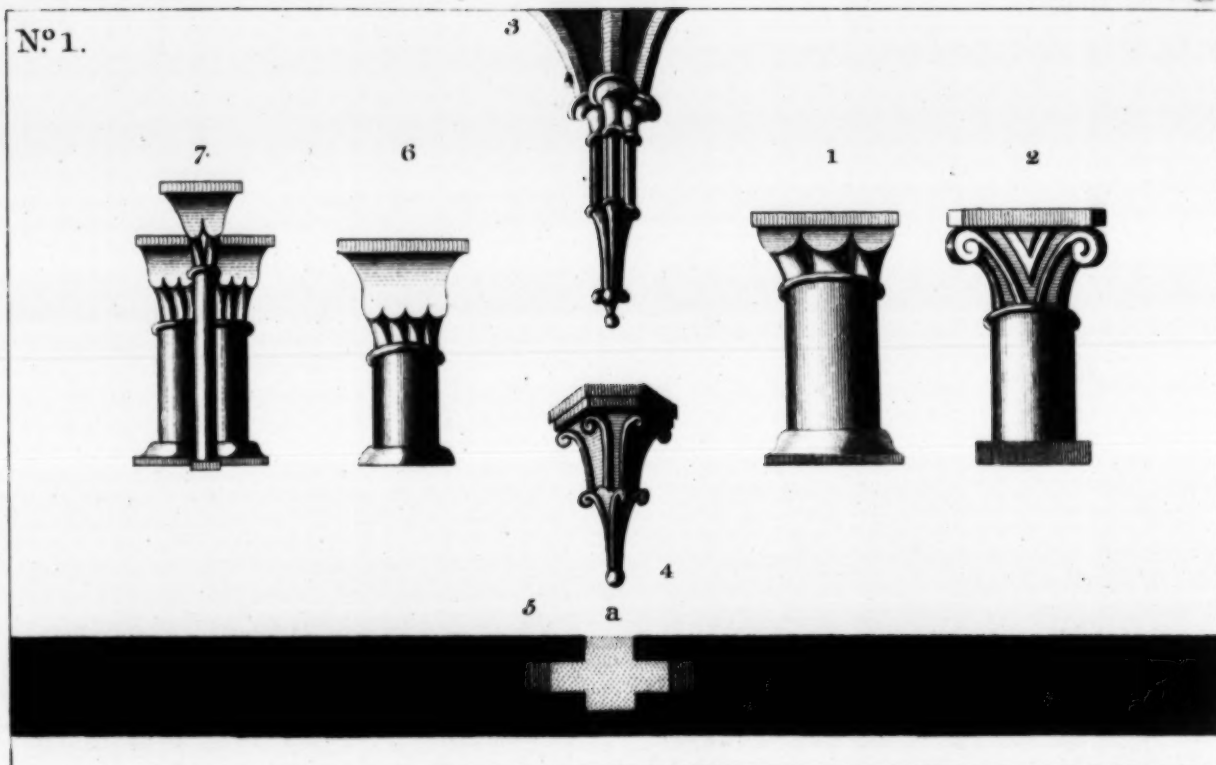
circular (as such Churches very usually were) at the east end;—and where may be discovered, the manner in which Abbot *Sebroke*, (or *Seabrook*) in the time of Henry the Sixth, between the years 1450, and 1457, caused near half of each original pillar, on the two sides of the Choir, to be cut away, in order to insert his beautiful stone skreen:—and caused also the whole of the pillars, to be cut away level with the floor of the Choir, at the east end, in order to contrive, most ingeniously, to introduce his magnificent east window, *wider* than the Choir itself.

For the purpose of explaining this, No. 2, Pl. XXIV. is a Plan of the Choir, and of a small part of the Nave, at the west end; and of a small part of the *Lady Chapel*, at the east end.—The parts of each pillar, engraved with *black lines*, shews what alone now remains in the Choir above; whilst the *dotted lines* shew the whole of the Saxon pillars, as they still remain of a round form, in the Crypt beneath;—and shew also, how the whole of those (a, b, c, d,) at the east end, have been cut down to the floor of the Choir.

At (f), and (e), are two new square pillars built by *Sebroke*, to complete his skreen:—and from thence it is obvious how he contrived to expand the Choir, to two others, at (k), and (g), made to correspond with the former; whilst the noble window above was made to extend along (k, i, h, g);—and whilst, oddly enough, two now *unmeaning* semicircular pilasters, at (n), and (m), are still left remaining against the wall, with as unmeaning segments of arches, over-head, springing towards the places above, over the now vacant places of the old original *Saxon* pillars (a), and (d).

As in the description of *Saxon Castles*, the *Norman* additions afterwards made have also been represented, for the sake of shewing, more clearly, the perfect distinctions, in point of Architecture; so here it may be useful to shew, what kind of Architecture was added by Abbot *Sebroke*, in the Choir above.

Pl. XXV. therefore, represents two of the divisions, of his beautiful skreen; begun when he first cut away the front halves of the old *Saxon* pillars, in the time of *Henry the Sixth*;—and which were finished in the time of *Edward the Fourth*.



A. C. & E. K. delin.

Burke sculp.

Remains at Tewkesbury & Gloucester.

Published as the Act directed, by C. Nisbet & Son, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 226, 228, 230, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280, 282, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 302, 304, 306, 308, 310, 312, 314, 316, 318, 320, 322, 324, 326, 328, 330, 332, 334, 336, 338, 340, 342, 344, 346, 348, 350, 352, 354, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 366, 368, 370, 372, 374, 376, 378, 380, 382, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 398, 400, 402, 404, 406, 408, 410, 412, 414, 416, 418, 420, 422, 424, 426, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 458, 460, 462, 464, 466, 468, 470, 472, 474, 476, 478, 480, 482, 484, 486, 488, 490, 492, 494, 496, 498, 500, 502, 504, 506, 508, 510, 512, 514, 516, 518, 520, 522, 524, 526, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 562, 564, 566, 568, 570, 572, 574, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 586, 588, 590, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 610, 612, 614, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634, 636, 638, 640, 642, 644, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 666, 668, 670, 672, 674, 676, 678, 680, 682, 684, 686, 688, 690, 692, 694, 696, 698, 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712, 714, 716, 718, 720, 722, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732, 734, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 746, 748, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 778, 780, 782, 784, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 816, 818, 820, 822, 824, 826, 828, 830, 832, 834, 836, 838, 840, 842, 844, 846, 848, 850, 852, 854, 856, 858, 860, 862, 864, 866, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 896, 898, 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, 910, 912, 914, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 928, 930, 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 948, 950, 952, 954, 956, 958, 960, 962, 964, 966, 968, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 990, 992, 994, 996, 998, 1000.

Fig. 2. Vol. IV. Pl. XXV.

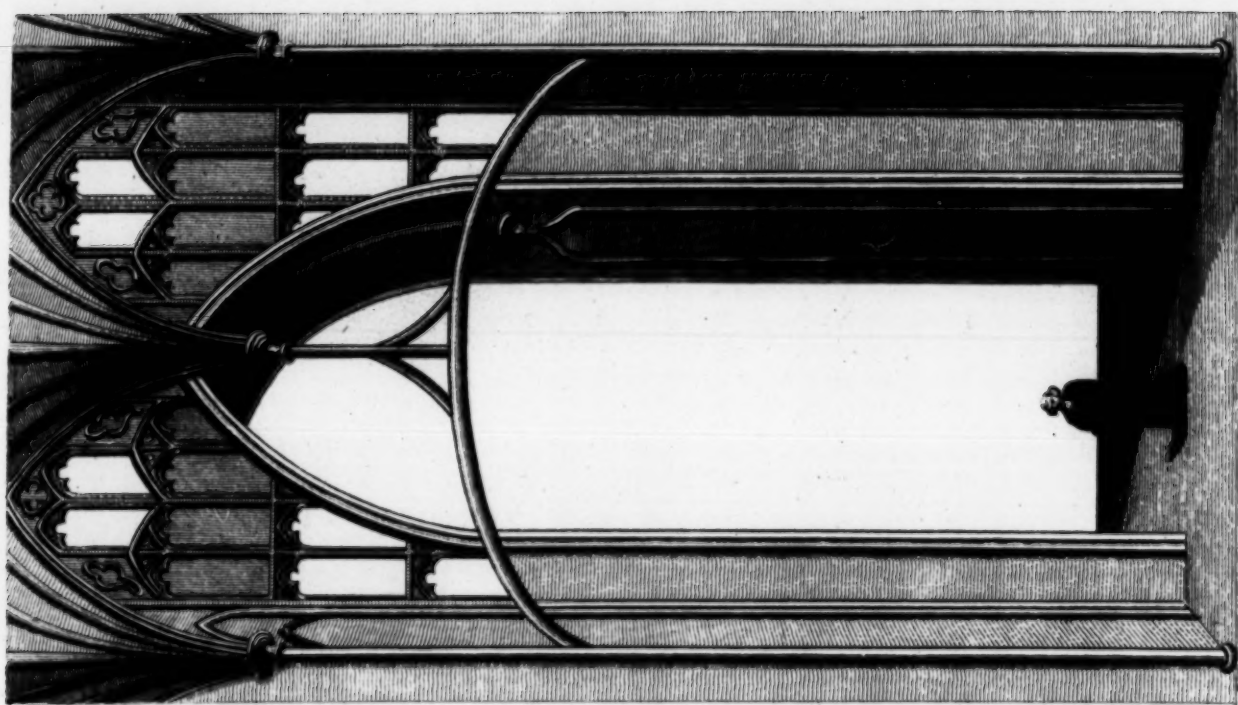
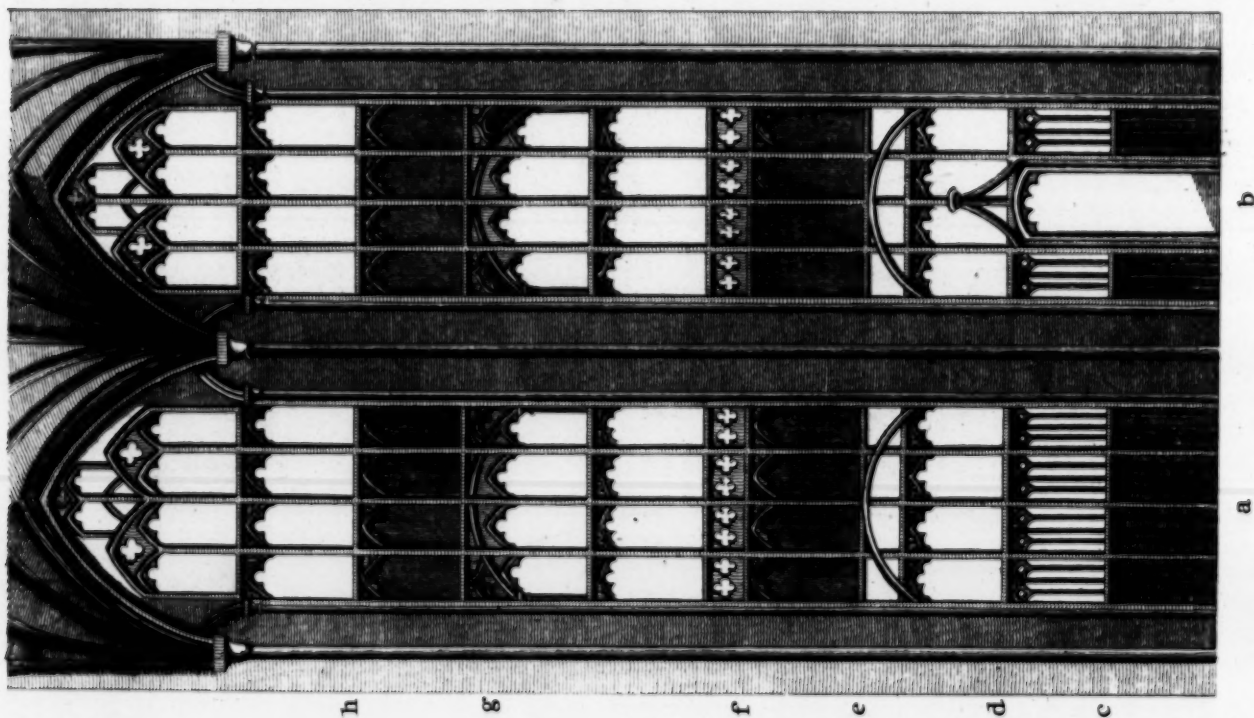


Fig. 1.



The light flying flat arch, (one of the most curious things in England), represented in Fig. 2, which is directly under the Great Tower, near the middle of the Choir, was perhaps one of *the very first* appearances of a *flat arch* in this country. A tendency to the same sort of flat arch, appears in every part of *Sebroke's* skreen; and might, most probably, give occasion to the real introduction of the flat arch, *with four centres*, which came so much into use, in the reign of Henry the Seventh.*

The width of this extraordinary arch, is thirty-five feet, five inches.—And the width of the pointed arch behind it, is only twenty-three feet.

In consequence of the irregularity of the intercolumniations of the old *Saxon* pillars, it may be observed, that the divisions even of the *Norman* new skreen, are not exactly equal: the width of the division (a), No. 1, being eleven feet, ten inches;—and that of (b), only ten feet, six inches.

In the Structure, upwards,—Pl. XXV. Fig. 2, from (a b) to (c) is solid wall;—from (c) to (d), light open work;—from (d) to (e), still more open, with light transom stone-work, of a most remarkable kind, crossing the open arch;—from (e) to (f), is again solid blank wall;—from (f) to (g), open work, opening into the walk over the side isle;—from (g) to (h), again solid wall;—and from (h) to the top, quite open work, with glass windows.

Having shewn the great contrast, between *Sebroke's* fine skreen, and the old *Saxon* Architecture, it is curious, in the next place, to contrast the workmanship of the small old Cloister, represented Pl. XXIII. fig. 2, of the age of Edward the First, with that of the very beautiful great Cloister, built by Abbot *Frowcester*, (or *Trowcestre*,)+ between the years 1381, and 1412; when that fine style of Architecture began, which prevailed in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

It is about sixteen, or eighteen feet, in height;—thirteen feet in breadth;—and nearly one hundred and fifty feet in length, on

* This circumstance will be more particularly attended to hereafter; when we come to examine the *gradual* introduction of the different kinds of pointed arches.

+ Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 116.

every one of the four sides of the quadrangle;—with stone benches under several of the windows:—whilst, on the south part, it was moreover fitted up, so as to be a sort of *Scriptorium*,†

* From east to west it is nearly about 144 feet; and from north to south about 148 feet.

† Each Monastery had usually some apartment, or else some portion of its Cloister, appropriated for this purpose;—where their Musick, and Missals, were copied out; and such other books as they could obtain to copy.—In the old Library, at Worcester Cathedral, and in the remaining Libraries of some other Collegiate Churches, may still be seen the manner of writing Musick, before the invention of the present notes;—and some of the old copies of Books.

By means of such *Scriptoria*, were compiled, and preserved, the first Annals of Saxon History; without which, (however strange the composition of some of them may be), this would now have been a land of darkness, as to any accounts of what passed therein, during those ages.

The custom of making this one good use of Convents, and of Christian Societies, was derived from very early days.—About the year 220, Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, built a Library there, for preserving the Epistles of learned Ecclesiastical Persons, written one to another; and their Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures.—And in what manner *Origen* was aided to write his admirable Works, we learn from *Eusebius*, who tells us that he had more than seven notaries appointed for him, who, every one, in his turn, wrote that which he uttered; and as many more Scriveners, together with *maidens*, well exercised and practised in penning, who were to write copies. *Eccles. His. of Eusebius Pamphilus*, lib. 6. ca. 20.—And ca. 21.

The preservation and progress of science, by means of Convents, is a very curious fact;—and the precious estimation in which books were held, when few could read them, is still more so.

The Books which *Fergus the Second*, who assisted *Alaric* the Goth, had brought home with him, as a part of the plunder from Rome, about the year 406, had been deposited in the Monastery, in the Island of Iona.—From thence they were, by degrees, copied for the use of other Monasteries;—and besides these, other Books were obtained afterwards, by means of various journeys to Rome.—*Benedict Biscop*, the Founder of Weremouth, and the friend of Bishop Wilfrid, made no fewer than five journies to Rome, to purchase copies of Books.—*Boethius*, lib. vii. p. 114.—See also *Paulus Jovius*, as cited by Archbishop Usher, Br. Eccl. 597.—And see *Bedæ His. Abb. Wermuthen*. p. 297.

They became deposited in various Monasteries.—Some such were at Canterbury,—where also were Books that had been brought from Rome, both by *Augustin*, and by *Theodore*. And the Letter of *Aldhelm*, (the very person who founded Malmsbury), containing an account of his studies, and progress, at Canterbury, by the help of such Books, is one of the most curious fragments of antiquity.—(*Anglia Sacra*, Tom. II. p. 6 and 7).

The price of these Books, was at various times enormous.—*Aldfred*, King of Northumberland, gave eight *hides of land*, (that is as much as eight ploughs could till) for one volume of *Cosmography*.—Yet probably it was but a very indifferent work.—For

for the Monastery; convenient for writing;—and whilst, at the

perhaps it ought not to be forgotten on this occasion, what a strange, most antient map, on parchment, for the illustration of Cosmography, there is still preserved, in the Library at Hereford Cathedral.

In these Conventual *Scriptoria*, were copied out the Writings of the Fathers;—in these also were copied out the abstruse Works of the first Schoolmen;—and here also, little works of Genius, besides additions to Æsop's Fables, (which have been already mentioned, p. 119) were added sometimes as effusions of fancy, and imagination.

It is an interesting circumstance, deserving to be mentioned on this occasion; that before the time of Venerable *Bede*, there lived an *Anglo-Saxon Poet*, of the name of *Cædmon*, or *Kedman*, of the wondrous powers of whose mind *Bede* speaks in the highest terms, (*Bede* His. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 24), and says, he sung of the Creation of the World,—of the Origin of Mankind,—and of the whole History of the Book of Genesis.—He died about A. D. 680, and therefore must have been a contemporary of *Etheldreda*, who founded the Monastery at Ely.—And it is a very curious fact, little known, that *Lisle* (the Author of the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary) translated this Poem;—and that, therein it was found had been introduced, almost exactly,—the same idea of the Fallen Angels, and even the peculiarity of the nine days falling, and of Satan's assembling his *Thanes*, on their rousing themselves;—which was afterwards introduced by *Milton*, in his *Paradise Lost*. This account I received from the learned and venerable Dr. Percy, Lord Bishop of Dromore, who had several Manuscripts of *Lisle's* bequeathed to him;—and was of all other men the best qualified to investigate such curious matters of antient Literature.

It should not be forgotten, with regard to Manuscripts, the productions of these painful penmen in *Scriptoria*, that King *Alfred* is said (by the Saxon Writers) to have first received his eagerness for erudition, in an age when he himself complained of the general ignorance even of the Clergy, from his Mother's shewing him a Book of *Saxon Poems*, beautifully written, and illuminated; and promising to give it to which-ever of her Sons should soonest learn to read it.—(See before, p. 108, and 119).

Till the eleventh century, musical notes were expressed only by letters of the alphabet:—and till the fourteenth century, they were expressed only by large, lozenge-shaped, black dots, or points, placed on different lines one above another, and then first named—*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, (to which *si* was added afterwards);—and they were all expressed, without any distinction as to length of time; and without any such things as *breves, semibreves, minims, crotchets*, or *quavers*, &c.—The old Psalters, in many Cathedral Churches, are found thus written:—and in consequence of this it was, that the *Scriptoria*, in some other places, as well as at Gloucester, are found so contrived, as to have long ranges of seats, or benches, one beyond another, for the copyists; so that a master, or person, standing at one end, and naming each note, it might quickly be copied out by all, naming it in succession, from one end to the other.—Hence the Psalters were more easily copied than any other books;—and it is not a little remarkable, that, in the Library, at Worcester, is a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, set to music throughout, with these sort of notes.

It would be not only a great omission, but the utmost injustice, not to refer, on this occasion, to Mr. Bonnor's incomparable miniature view of these Cloisters, No. 1, Pl. X.

west end, near the *Refectory*, were *Lavatories*, or places for the Monks to wash at, both before, and after their repasts.*

Two divisions of this Cloyster, are represented Pl. XXVI.— And another part, near one of the angles, is represented in Mr. Lysons's very curious Work.+

Let us now return to a little further examination of the Plan, Pl. XXIV. No. 2.—At (o) is the fine light flying arch, under the Tower;—and the circles, numbered from (1) to (12), shew the original pillars, that have been pared away in the upper parts:—the white space in each, shewing what has been cut away; and the black shewing what is still left, in the Choir above.

At (r), on the north side of the side isle of the Choir, just on the left hand, on entering the door-way, and behind the partition wall (q s), are a few stone steps of ascent, to an inclosed stone desk, placed just behind the door by which you enter this isle, for the purpose of reading, the regular portion of the Gospel, on the celebration of Divine Service, to the common people standing in the north cross isle, through a little open arched window at (q);‡ after it had been read to the Monks, and persons attending in the Choir.

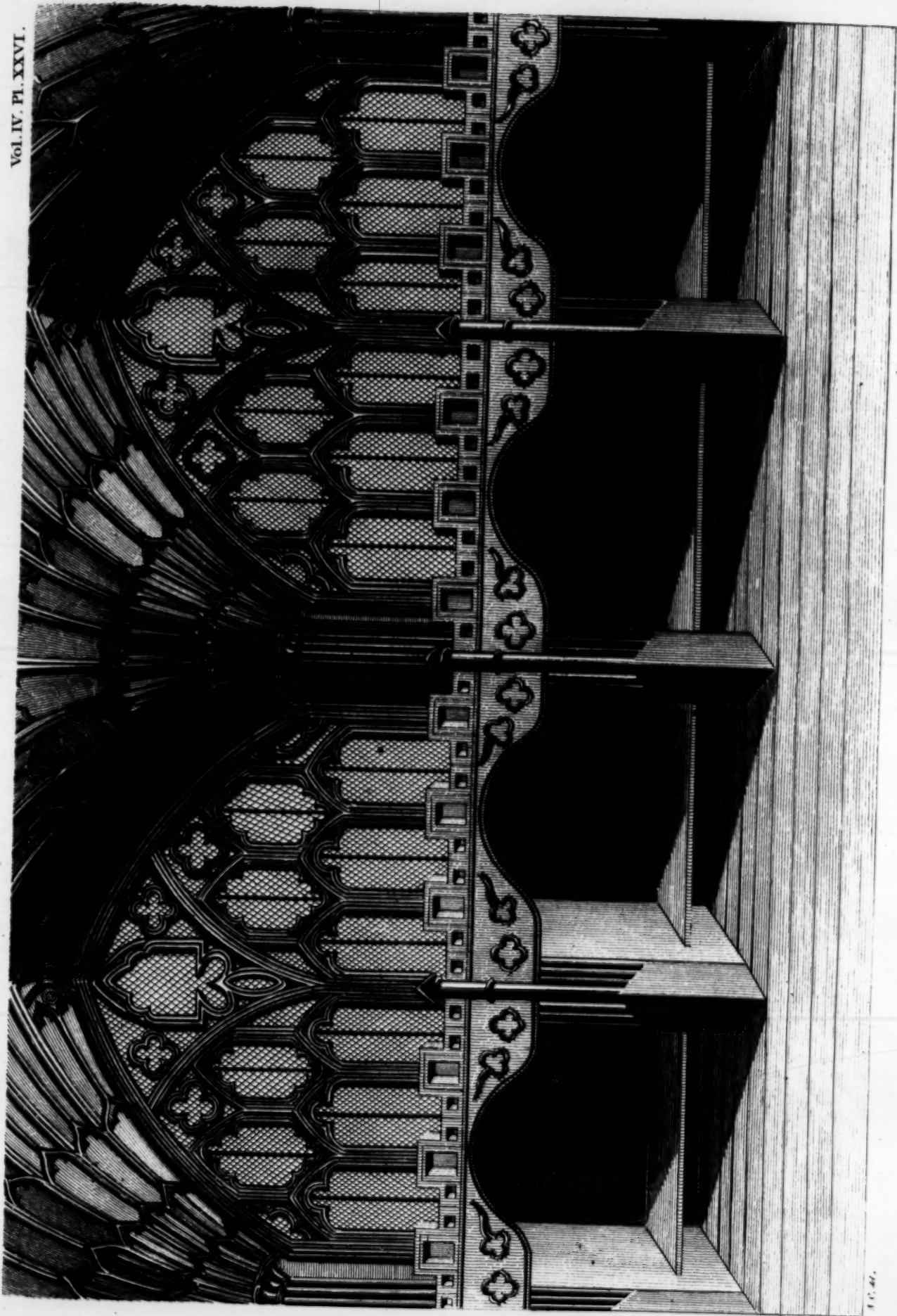
And at (p), is a very odd, and curious remain, of an inclosed Cell, with strong, high, arched iron gratings,§ which, tradition says, was used occasionally for the temporary confinement of disobedient, and transgressing Monks;—imprisoned in this situation, *purposely*, that that they might have, during their confinement, both the opportunity of hearing the Gospel read, from the open window at (q), and of seeing, and hearing (as they could do, in which conveys the most complete general idea of them that can possibly be given.— And indeed his other views of this most interesting fabric, though on so small a scale, serve in the highest degree to explain, and illustrate its different parts.

* Atkyns's Gloucestershire, p. 66.

+ Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities, Pl. CX.

‡ Stone desks, in similar situations, and exactly of a similar kind, have (as I have been very well assured) been used in several Conventual Churches abroad, for the same purpose, till of very late years.

§ The very curious front, with the fine iron gratings of this Prison, may be seen most nicely delineated, in Mr. Bonnor's miniature views, No. 1, Pl. IV.



Choir at Gloucester.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, at the Office of the Society, No. 1, Broad Street, London, W. 1851.



the original situation of the high altar) the celebration of Mass in the Choir.

In a part of the Crypt of the Church, beneath, was a Prison of a much more dreadful kind, for those deemed more heinous offenders.—For, in the wall, on the side, nearly under the Choir, appears another most strange Remain, which is incapable of having any other account given of it, than that it was, from the earliest ages, designed for this dreadful use.—Tradition positively affirms, that it was actually made use of, as a Prison, for Hereticks, even so late as the time of Queen Mary.

Its Plan is shewn, Pl. XXIV. No. 1, fig. 5;—having a strong door at (a); whilst on each side within, a cell is formed, in the thickness of the wall, merely just wide enough, and just high enough, for a man to stand, or to sit; a stone bench being placed at each end, as shewn by the shaded part of the plan.

The Prison that has already been described, as existing in the Pillar at *St. Albans*,* may prevent our being surprised at such an appearance of antient Ecclesiastical rigour, and severity.—And a reference to a few other Prisons, and places of confinement, in some other *Benedictine* Monasteries, will help both to confirm the fact, as to this kind of rigorous confinement, and as to the more lenient modes of Ecclesiastical punishment.

With regard to the former;—at *Ewenny*, in Glamorganshire, (which was a Cell of *Benedictines*, dependant upon this identical Great Monastery at *Gloucester*;† and was one of those that was, in antient times, on account of the uncivilized state of the surrounding country, strongly fortified); under the Tower of the South Gate, is as strange a Dungeon as has ever been found in any Religious House.

Its Plan may be seen, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 1, as it remained in the year 1788. At (a) is a strong door-way; and at (a b), (b c,) and (c d), the winding continuation of a narrow Gallery, only one foot and an half wide, which leads, by two turnings at right angles, to a very deep Dungeon (d), only six feet in diameter,

* In this Volume, p. 128.

† Leland, Vol. V. p. 12.

placed directly in the centre of a strong Tower. It is almost impossible to behold it, without bringing to mind the account given of that strange place of confinement, at Jerusalem; *the Dungeon of Malchiah, the Son of Hammelech, that was in the Court of the Prison*;† where the holy Prophet *Jeremiah* had well nigh perished.

With regard to the more tolerable kind of Prisons, so contrived that a prisoner might be both a spectator, and auditor of, daily celebrations.

At Canterbury, there are obvious Remains of an Apartment of such a kind, both spacious, and convenient; but yet clearly intended for a Prison, and penitential place of abode for *refractory brethren*. The real original designation of which, has been so well ascertained by the curious, and inquisitive Mr. *Gostling*, that the best account of it will be nearly in his own words.*—referring to his Appendix,† for a fair and full vindication of his opinion, in answer to a petulant objection, founded on mere surmise.

“ A newel Staircase leads to a Room over St. Anselm’s Chapel, in the Cathedral;—a Closet belonging to which Room, has a Window looking into the Choir, with an Iron Grate.—This has been shewn as the place where John the Second, King of France, was confined, when taken prisoner, and brought into England, by Edward the Black Prince.

“ The story is too ridiculous for confutation;—but that the place has been used *for a Prison*, may very well be believed.

“ In all probability it was so, for such of the Monks as had deserved confinement by their irregularities.—The Room is pretty large; and has light enough.—It has a Chimney, and an Oven; so it should seem, they who were confined here, were to dress such provisions for themselves, as the Convent was pleased to allow them.

“ There is a door into a Platform, where they might have fresh

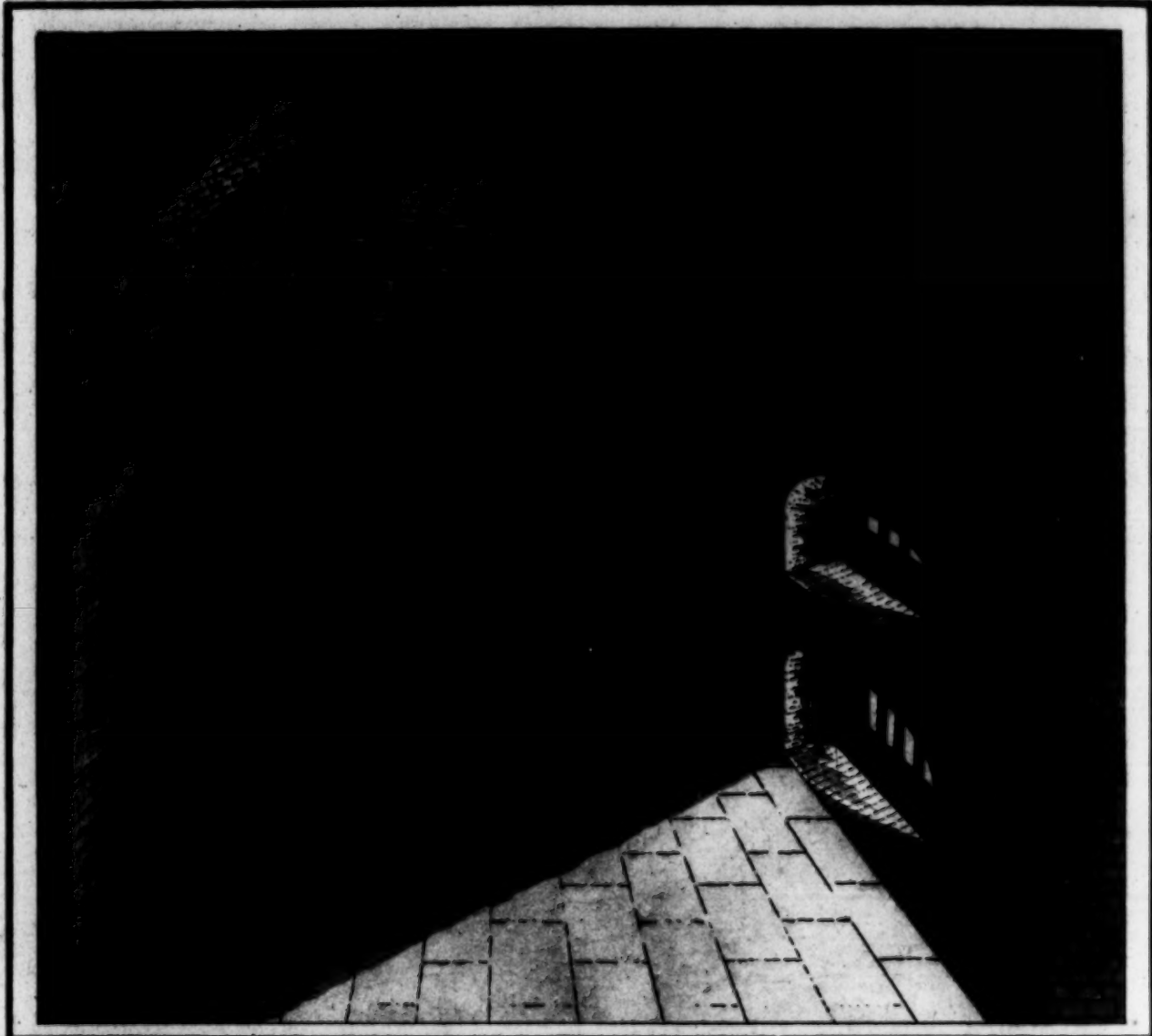
* *Jeremiah*, c. xxxviii. v. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

† *Gostling’s Walk in and about Canterbury*, p. 259.

‡ *Ib.* p. 389.



F.1.



F.2.



The Monks Prison in Worcester Cathedral.

"air; and a pleasant prospect of the country;" but at such an height from the ground, that any attempt to make an escape that way would have been very dangerous.

"The grated Window toward the Choir, I apprehend, was made, that the prisoners might be eye-witnesses of the performances of those sacred solemnities, which they were excluded from joining in: and was so placed, that they might have a fair view of the elevation of the host. — And probably notice was taken whether they duly attended at their grate on such occasions, and how they behaved themselves there.

"Whether any thing of this kind is to be seen in other Churches I know not," says Mr. Gostling. — It remains, therefore, now to be added, to his curious observations, that just such another large Prison is to be seen at Worcester: where, though the apartment is also spacious, there are some devices that evidently denote its intended use.

Its Architecture, and Arches near the Windows, shew it to have been repaired, so late as the time of Henry the Seventh, but all the rest is much more antient.

Pl. XXVII. Fig. 1, — shews the inside of the Great Room. — The ascent up to which is by a very steep, strait, narrow Staircase, from the side of the South Isle of the Cathedral; very nearly in the same part of the Church here, as at Canterbury. And this

* The situation of this Prison may be seen, in the Plan of the Cathedral, at Fig. 42, which is inserted in the *Monasticon*, p. 19; — and in *Somner's Antiquities*, Pl. II. p. 9; and also in that inserted in *Stevens' Translation*, p. 4. — And, in the two latter Works may be seen, the situation of the platform here mentioned, in a fine South View of the Cathedral, engraved by Hollar. — See *Somner*, Pl. II. p. 17.

+ In the Churches of the Roman-Catholics, at the Benediction, the Priest, turning from the Altar, holds up the consecrated wafer higher than his head, and shews it to the congregation; and a small hand-bell is rung, to call the attention of the people to the elevation. — In consequence of this usage, in many of our old Parish Churches, where the families of Benefactors had their own chancels, or seats, in Cross, or Side Isles, a sort of loops, or spying holes still remain, cut slaunting through the Walls, towards the Altar, that such families might see the whole ceremony fully, from their proper places, and pay the required attention, without removing from their stations. — For the same purpose was the strange contrivance of the *Spying Pipe*, that we shall find in the Prison at Worcester.

ascent was secured, not only by a strong door at bottom, with cavities remaining in the side walls for an exceeding strong bar; but also by several *machicolations*, the whole way, over head.

From this sort of fortified appearance, a tale has taken rise, and is commonly told by the guides, of its being the apartment where *Oliver Cromwell* resided, during his stay at Worcester. A tale, however, which deserves little more credit, than that concerning *John, King of France*, at Canterbury: although, considering the spacious convenience of these Apartments, at both places, neither the one nor the other, is absolutely impossible.

Having climbed up this steep, narrow ascent; the entrance into the Room is by a door, which appears at (g), just behind a partition wall, on the right-hand side;—not far from the Window.

We then find a square Room, lined as it were, with very smooth stone walls, of that reddish stone, whereof the whole Church is built; and vaulted with stone.—It is lighted by two great Windows; one above, and one below: by means of which it has as good air, and light, as the *Canterbury Prison*.—Before these Windows, however, both below, and above, at the distance of some feet, stands a cross partition Wall, with two similar Arches, one above the other, which, there is some reason to think, were formerly filled with gratings; as well as the Windows;—and by means of which, any direct access to the Windows, from the Prison Room, was quite cut off, except by a door of entrance, once existing, through the grating, near (g); and by the Gallery above.

In front, in Pl. XXVII. Fig. 1, appears a small narrow door, (f), so very strait, and narrow, that a corpulent man could scarce pass through it:* and by means of this alone is access to a Stair-

* It would be allowing an idea much too ludicrous, to apprehend that this Door-way was designed, as a *gauge*, for any fat, gormondizing, gluttonous Monk; who might be confined here, till he should be able to pass through it.—Though such a supposed reduction of corpulence, would not be at all more impossible, or surprising, than that of the celebrated *Doctor Cheney*, who, by an abstemious diet, so reduced himself, in the last century, as to be able to draw his enormous loose skin, from the top of his back over his head, like an *hooded serpent*.—Incredible as this may appear, it was positively

case, nearly as narrow, which leads directly up to the sort of Gallery, that appears on the right hand, before the upper Window, and over the lower Arch.—Entering which, at (e), and proceeding along this Gallery, you come to a door-way, marked (d), through which was a Bed Chamber, with a small Oratory adjoining; and also a Closet, serving for a Privy. — In the great Prison Chamber, in front, by the side of the narrow Staircase door, appears, at (h), a square opening, with a frame for a little door, much like the mouth of an oven, both in dimensions, and form:—but on careful inspection it is found to have been contrived for another purpose:—for it incloses merely a cavity, like a cup-board; at the further end of which is seen a square hollow pipe, going downwards through the Wall, about six inches square.—This is now quite dark; having been of late years shut up, and stopped at the further end, by the erecting of the Monument, in memory of Bishop Maddocks, in the South Cross Isle, exactly at the outmost end of it:—but formerly, and within the remembrance of several persons still living, it had its lower end opening quite through that Wall, in a sort of loop; and was manifestly designed for the purpose of enabling any prisoner, both to see, and to hear the performance of Mass, at an Altar, that once stood against the opposite Wall, in that South Transept: whilst the mouth of the cavity, next the Room, was at other times shut by a wicket Window, about two feet square.

The whole of this contrivance will be better understood, by Pl. XXVII. Fig. 2; which represents a Section of the Wall; and in which (a a) shews the inside of the room, with the front of the cavity, where the wicket Window was placed.—(b b) shews the pipe, descending obliquely through the Wall;—and (c c c) shews the open space towards the South Transept, on the other side of the Wall, opposite to which stood a Mass Altar.

attested, to me, by an old Physician, of the first eminence, at Bath, who knew him well.

I myself once remember a very corpulent *Fellow of a College*, at Cambridge, who seating himself every day, at dinner, with his back against the wall, used to eat (according to his own facetious account of himself) *up* to the table; and the next day, when he came in hungry, wanted an inch or more of it.

There do not remain, to the best of my remembrance, any rings, or staples, in either of these Ecclesiastical Prisons.—If there are any such, they escaped my notice.—But those that actually remained, a very few years ago, in what is called the *Lollard's Tower*, at *Lambeth*, in the Archbishop's Palace, are well known.—This Ecclesiastical Prison, like the two last mentioned, was in an airy, fine situation; and was one of those, last of all, used in this kingdom.*

It must be distinguished, however, from that other, which went by the same name, in *St. Paul's Cathedral*, whilst the old Church remained.

This latter was in one of those Towers, which adorned the western front of that Church; and was over the close adjoining Parish Church of *St. Gregory*; the Tower standing indeed within the very body of that Building.†—Here had been a place of confinement for Ecclesiasticks, similar to some of those which we have been describing, from a very early period.—Its name of *Lollard's Tower*, it probably obtained about the time of *Henry the Fifth*.—And in the reign of *Queen Mary*, hereticks, or offenders against Ecclesiastical laws in general, whether Clergy, or Laymen, were frequently confined in this place.

Here *George King*, *Thomas Leyes*, and *John Wade*, were imprisoned; till they fell sick, and were removed to neighbouring Houses, where they died.‡

Here, in the same year, 1555, *William Wiseman* ended his days, in bonds.§

Here, in the year 1514, *Richard Huhn*, was murdered.||

And in a similar Prison to this, in the opposite Tower, that sincere good man *John Philpot*, Archdeacon of Winchester, was ordered to be imprisoned;¶ though he was first confined in a Vault,

* See Fox's Martyrology.

† Its situation may be seen in Dugdale's Plan of *St. Paul's*, inserted in his History of that Cathedral, p. 161:—and its appearance, in his South View, inserted p. 162, and engraved by Hollar.

‡ See Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 266. § *Ib.* p. 340.

|| Fox's Martyrs, II. p. 8 to 14. Holinshed, p. 835.

¶ Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 343, ed. 1791.

that was made use of as a *Coal Cellar*,* by the then Bishop of London; and afterwards in a still more narrow Prison; of which, as well as of *Lollard's Tower*, and of his similar Prison in St. Paul's, we have a most particular and curious account, in the remaining details of the hard usage, and sincere confessions of honest faith, and adherence to truth, of this truly Christian Martyr.†—His description of both these places of confinement, deserves the utmost attention;—both as illustrating the present subject, and the horrible history of those times.

“ Bishop *Bonner*,‡ (he says), after examination, calling the
 “ keeper aside, commanded to keep all men from me, and nar-
 “ rowly to search me; and brought me to his privy door, that
 “ goeth into the Church; and commanded two of his men to ac-
 “ company me, and to see me placed.—And afterwards I passed
 “ through Paul's, up to *Lollard's Tower*: and after that turned
 “ along the west side of St. Paul's, through the wall; and passing
 “ through six or seven doors, came to my lodging, through many
 “ straits, - - - &c.—And it is in a Tower right on the other side
 “ of *Lollard's Tower*; as high almost as the Battlements of *Paul's*;
 “ eight foot in breadth, and thirteen in length; and almost over
 “ the Prison where I was before; having a window opening
 “ towards the east, by which I may look over the tops of a great
 “ many houses, but see no man passing into them. And whoso
 “ walketh in the Bishop's Upper Gallery, going to his Chapel,
 “ may see my window, and me standing in the same.”

The curiosity of this whole subject, which deserved to be taken in one comprehensive point of view, on this first mention of the most antient *monkish*, penitential, and imprisoning Cells, will apologize for the length of this digression: and will render it a matter of just attention, to advert, on this occasion, to that remarkable little Cell, which exists in the Temple Church, at London;—and which has been very exactly delineated, in Mr. Britton's accurate Plan.§

* Ib. p. 344.

+ Ib. fol. p. 343, 344.

‡ Fox's Book of Martyrs, p. 367.

§ In his interesting Work of Architectural Antiquities, Part III. p. 13 and 15.

The ascent up to it, from the body of the Church, is by the same Staircase that leads to the Gallery, over the circular Aile that surrounds the antient Dome.—It is formed within the thick wall; and is only four feet, six inches long, and two feet, six inches wide; so that a person could not well lie down therein:—but it has two small apertures, or loop holes, for air; one looking eastward, into the Church, towards the spot where stood the high Altar; in order that a prisoner might see, and hear the performance of service;—and the other Window looking southward, into the part under the Dome; and towards the entrance of the Church.—A more decided place of penitentiary confinement, can hardly any where be met with: it almost deserves to be compared to the prison at St. Albans.*

To return from it, to the consideration of the antient Saxon part of the Church at *Gloucester*: we find another curious specimen of *Saxon Architecture*, though apparently of a later date than the very early *Saxon*, in a Door-way, at the west end; at present leading to the Deanery.—It is represented, Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 1.

And we find there, the transom stone supporting the Arch, and a scroll underneath of great peculiarity.

Somewhat similar to this, and apparently also of the time of King *Edgar*, when the so remarkably designed *diversification of ornaments in corresponding parts*, began to be left off, seems to have been another antient Door-way, of the Church at *East Dereham*, in Norfolk, on the south side;—represented Pl. XXVIII. Fig. 2.

The Church itself has been almost entirely rebuilt; and there are only a few very antient Remains. But this Door-way appears to have been a part of the original Structure; mentioned by Dugdale† to have existed in the time of King *Edgar*.

A Monastery was first founded here, by *Withburga*; the Daughter of that very *Anna*, King of the East Angles, who we have had reason to believe resided occasionally at *Orford Castle*; and her body is said to have been found incorrupted, in this Church, in

* Described p. 128 of this Volume

† See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. I. p. 176, and Vol. II. p. 853.

Various
Norman & Saxon
Remains.

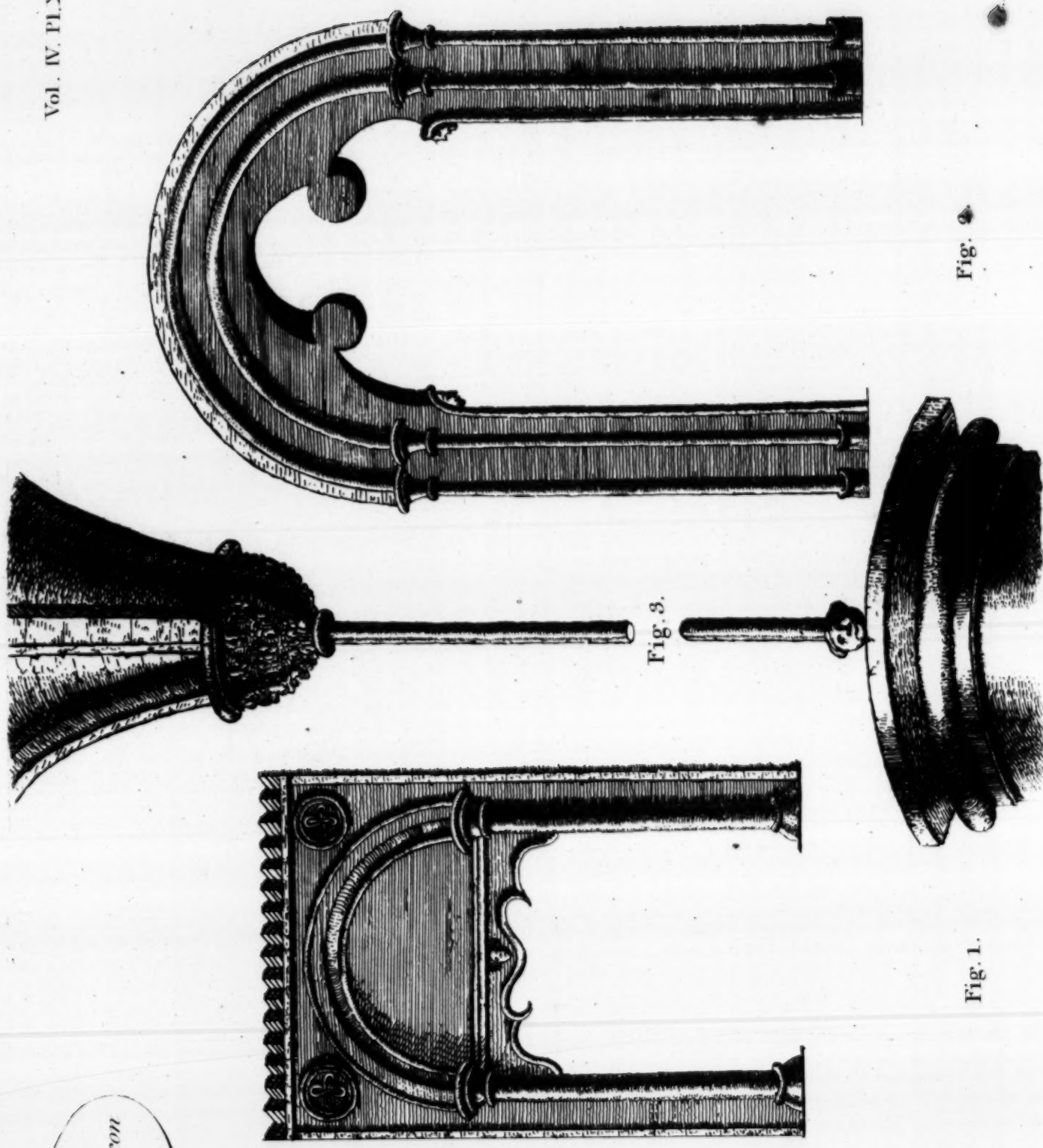


Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

A. H. 1848.

A. H. 1848.



the year 798; that is, fifty years after it was buried:—and to have been afterwards removed to Ely.

Another antient Remain, shewing the high antiquity of this Church, was the Baptistry, at the *west end*, which, in 1752, was converted into a cold bath.*

To return to Gloucester Cathedral, we ought not to close our remarks with regard to this most venerable pile, without adding, that here were buried *Ethelfleda*, Daughter of King *Ælfrid*, and also her Husband *Ethelred*, *Earl of Mercia*;—and that when the Church, about three or four hundred years afterwards, was repaired, and *enlarged*, (*Turstan*, Archbishop of York, contributing, *in ecclesia dilatanda*,)† the remains of both were found, on digging up the old foundations, in the South Portico, (*in porticu australi*), and treated with great respect.

And whilst this circumstance, with several others, tends to explain what was meant originally, amongst the *Saxons*, by the word *Portico*;‡—and also leads us evidently to conclude, that the *enlargement* spoken of, was the adding of the southern part of the

* See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 117.

† Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 108.—Wm. Malmsb. fol. 161, b.

‡ Mr. Collier, in his Church History, (Vol. I. p. 86), with several other Ecclesiastical Writers, considers the *Portico* as meaning merely the Porch. And Mr. Bentham, in his very curious Work, took a great deal of pains to elucidate this matter, (p. 18, 19, 20); and concluded, that the *North*, or *South Porticos*, when mentioned by *Saxon*, or other antient Writers, meant the *North*, and *South Isles*.

But Mr. Wilkins, with a great deal of force of reasoning, (in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIII. p. 294 to p. 304) endeavours to shew, that the *Porticos* were only divisions (like little Chapels), on each side the entrance of the Church, at the west end, corresponding with the North and South Isles, as a continuation of them;—and illustrates his arguments, by a Plan (Pl. XX.) of *Melbourne Church*, in Derbyshire.

There is great consideration due to all the arguments of these curious Investigators of high antiquity;—nevertheless I find myself inclined to adopt a conclusion, not exactly corresponding with any of them, but between them all;—which is, that the *Porticos* mentioned by *Saxon*, and other antient Writers, were a sort of *little Chapels*, partly like those described by Mr. Wilkins, at the west end of *Melbourne Church*, (which I conceive to have been unquestionably *such Porticos*);—and also partly little Chapels, on the sides of the Side Isles;—and also such little semicircular Chapels, as may be seen, on each side, surrounding the eastern parts of the Church, in the Plans of Gloucester, and Tewkesbury;—and indeed, in Norman times, at Westminster Abbey.

And I am the rather inclined to form this conclusion, from *Alcuin's* original poem,

Building, with the South Cross Isle, at (tt, Pl. XXIV. No. 2,) it also confirms all that has been already said, concerning the *original* Conventual Church having been first built, on the *very spot* where the present Cathedral now is; and concerning several pillars, and parts of the original Building still existing.

The Remains of *Osric*, the first Founder, were first laid in a small side Chapel (*or Portico*) called *St. Petronells*;* from thence they were removed into our *Lady's* Chapel; and only a few

concerning the building of Archbishop *Albert's* Church at York, about 780, of which the Architects were, the learned *Alcuin*, and *Eanbald*.—The Poem is, *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesie Ebor*, (and was published by Dr. Gale, A. D. 1691); and has these remarkable words:

Ast nova basilicæ miræ structura diebus
Præsulis hujus erat jam cæpta, peracta, sacrata.
Hæc nimis alta domus solidis suffulta columnis,
Supposita quæ stant curvatis arcubus, intus
Emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris,
Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis,
Plurima diversis retinens solaris tectis,
Quæ triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.

In this great Prelate's time, this Church of fame,
A finished, consecrated pile became:
By him alone, begun, completed, blest:
Where, by high Arches, mighty Columns prest,
And glitt'ring Roofs, of well-wrought timber form'd,
And Windows fair, with nicest art adorn'd,
Render the whole both awful, and sublime,
And long to be admir'd in future time.
Full many Porticos surrounding all;
Where the sun's rays in all directions fall;
And thirty Altars, each adorn'd with art,
Give lustre to the whole, and every part.

The very remarkable words, *Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis*,—the more literal translation of which is,—*its lustre is beautiful, surrounded with many Porticos*,—seem manifestly to point out, its having had *more* such Porticos, than merely the *two* at the west end, as at *Melbourne*;—and therefore that they were placed, either on each side the body of the Church, or else surrounding the eastern parts;—and must have been nearly such little Chapels, as are found at Gloucester, at Tewkesbury, and at Westminster Abbey, truly receiving the light in all directions;—and with reference to which, the whole Building might be truly said to be,—*Plurima diversis retinens solaris tectis*,—retaining many of the sun's rays, under different roofs.

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. p. 172.—Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 110.

years before the dissolution of Abbies, placed on the north side of the high Altar, at (u), in the Plan, Pl. XXIV. No. 2.

The Tomb of *Edward the Second*, in which his body is inclosed, is at (w) in the Plan:—but where the remains of *Robert, Duke of Normandy*, were deposited, is not so certain; for the present apparent Tomb, formerly placed at (y),—and since that placed at (z), in a Chapel at the north east angle, is a mere cenotaph of wood; easily moveable:—and the body could not be placed underneath it, because of the Crypt beneath the Choir; unless it was buried in that Crypt.—It is said to have been buried in the College Library.

At (†), the body of Bishop *Aldred* is deposited, in a stone Tomb, above ground;—(according to the words of *Atkyns**), *as if he had been lodged in a manger*.

And at (v), are deposited the remains of Abbot *Sebroke*; just at the beginning of his beautiful Skreen.†

Here, in this Church, *William the Conqueror* celebrated a Christmas.—Here *Henry the First* is said to have met the first assembly of the Nobles, and Representatives of the People, that could deserve the name of a Parliament, after the Conquest.‡—Here *Henry the Third* was crowned;—here the unhappy *Edward*

* *Atkyn's Gloucestershire*, p. 68.

† In addition to these remarks concerning Gloucester Cathedral, and as a further illustration of the Architecture of that fine, and interesting Building, I cannot but refer the inquisitive reader, to the very curious Plates, in Mr. Lyson's *Antiquities of Gloucestershire*;—where he will find, Pl. CX. a view of a different part of the Great Cloister, in addition to that given in this Volume.—And in Pl. LIV. a view of the Antient Crypt.—In Pl. LXV. a view of the Chapel of our Lady;—and in Pl. LII. a view of the Library.—In Pl. LIII. the appearance of some Stone Stalls;—and in Pl. XXXI. some Stained Glass;—all of which help greatly to place the additional *Norman Architecture*, of the later ages, in a comparative point of view with that of the more early *Norman* period, and with the *Saxon*.—The exquisitely beautiful Tower, there will be occasion to describe more particularly, when we come to examine the style of architecture during the reigns of Henry the VIth. and VIIth.

‡ We have this account in *Dugdale's Monasticon*, p. 994, from the antient Manuscript in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester:—but it is very remarkable that both *Holinshed*, Vol. II. p. 38, and *Stow*, p. 138, mention the *very first* Parliament as being held at Salisbury.—The fact therefore seems to have been, that *Henry* assembled one of the first of these great Councils here;—but not the *very first*.

the Second lies entombed ;—and the remains of the unhappy *Robert, Duke of Normandy* rest in peace.—Here *Richard the Second*, no less unhappy than either, once came to hold an entire Sessions of the Great Estates of the Kingdom, which sat in this Church.—And here, tradition says,* before any of the Churches which we have been describing were reared, was the Gospel preached, and a Christian Church existing, of some kind or other, even so early as the year 189, in the time of *Lucius*, who is spoken of as a British King ;—and seems to have been undoubtedly, in command, as a British Chieftain, under the Romans.

The next early remain which more immediately deserves notice, as capable of illustrating the peculiarities of *Saxon* Architecture, is a curious specimen of *Welsh imitation*, in the Church of the old fortified Monastery, or rather Priory, of *Wenny*, or *Ewenny*, in Glamorganshire ;—which was dependent upon the very Monastery, at *Gloucester*, that we have just been describing.

In the year 1141, (that is during the reign of King *Stephen*) it was by *Maurice de Londres*, (or *Moris de Londres*) Lord of Ogmores Castle, given to be a Cell to the Abbey of St. Peter's at Gloucester.—But it had long before been founded, (as *Leland*† assures us), by a *John de Londres* ;—and concerning the date of this first founding, and of the building of the Church, neither *Leland*, nor *Dugdale*, nor any Records whatever, (no not even the Pedigree of the Family, given by *Powel*, in his History of Wales),‡ do afford us the least information.—The Structure therefore must be left to speak for itself ; which it does very forcibly.—Whilst the very circumstance of its having been given by *Moris*, indicates its existence before his time ; though, on account of that gift he is (as was the case with many other Restorers of antient Monasteries) called a *Founder*.

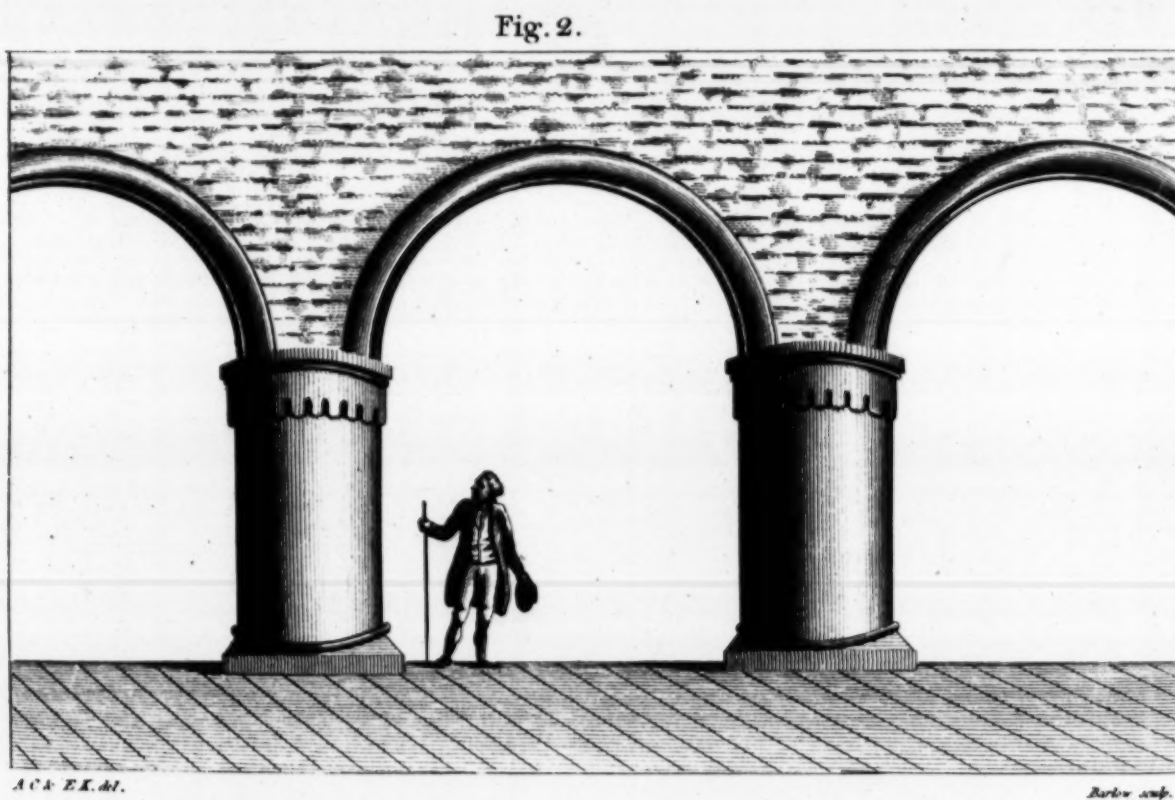
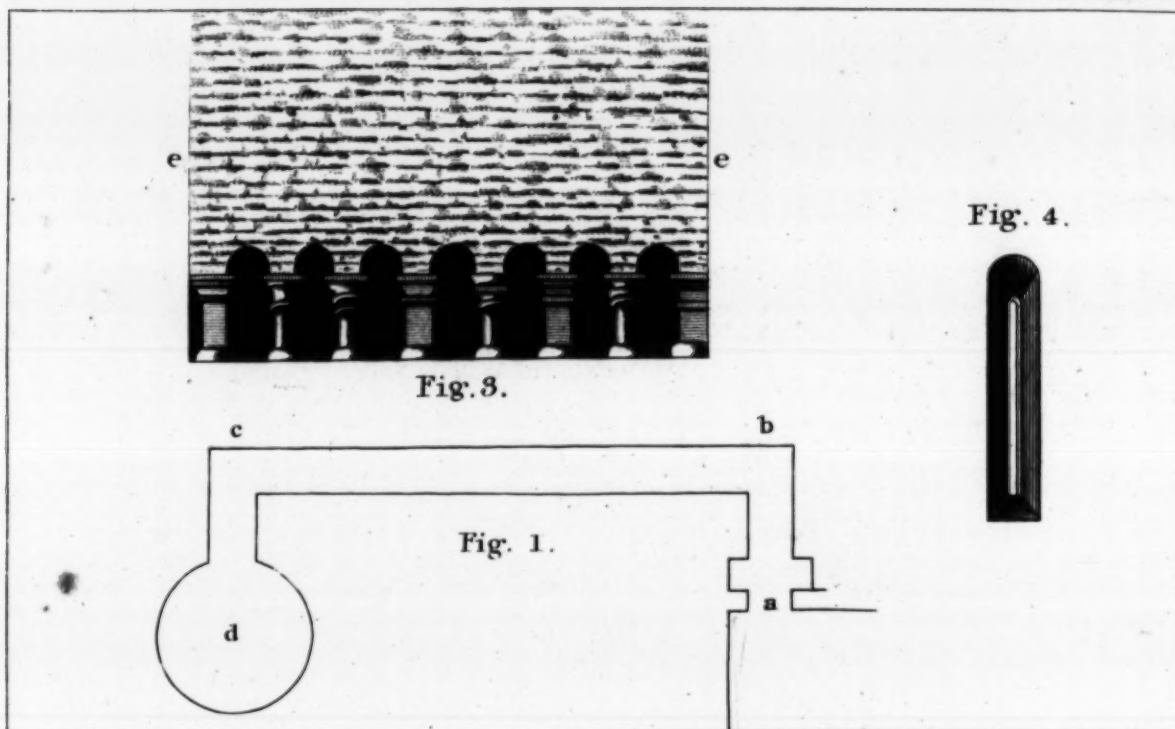
The greater part of the Architecture of the Church is, manifestly, of a kind that has no sort of connection with the age of King *Stephen* ; but a very obvious one with that of the *Saxons*, in

* *Monasticon*, p. 993.

† *Itin.* Vol. V. p. 12.

‡ See Sir Richard Colt Hoare's very curious account, in his *Giraldus Cambrensis*, Vol. I. p. 148.





Arches &c. at Cwenny in Glamorganshire?

the time of King *Edgar*; and with a part of the Architecture, so remarkable, in the Church at *Pershore*, in *Worcestershire*;—and if this Church was built at all later, is still a most remarkable imitation of that *Saxon style*.

The Door-way has a circular Arch, truly *Saxon*.—And the Pillars, throughout the Church, are massy in an extreme degree, in proportion to their height;—which circumstance it has been endeavoured to represent accurately, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 2, by means of making use of the figure of a man, of ordinary stature, standing by one of the Pillars, as a scale.—The Capitals also are of the strange disproportionate thickness,—and of the odd simple kind there represented. And the Arches are constructed with very few, and very plain mouldings, something in the manner of those at *Tewkesbury*, and *St. Albans*.—And in the wall, high above, in different parts of the Church, (and especially over the door, on the west side of the South Transept), are rows of very small Arches, just as at *Pershore*:—some of which are represented at (e e), Fig. 3;—of which it may be observed, that the Capitals are oddly, and intentionally, made *dissimilar*; whilst some of the Pillars themselves are round; and some square.

The exceeding narrow Windows also, in the upper part of the Church, of the sort plainly designed, before the introduction of glass, to admit only a little light, without too much exposure to the weather, (and which evidently shew the larger Windows beneath to have been inserted in a much later age), might be mentioned as proofs of high antiquity.—But not so decisive of a *Saxon* age, as the small Arches, and the *Saxon* inscription.

One of these narrow Windows is represented, Fig. 4:—and we learn from William of Malmsbury,* that such Windows had sometimes mere wooden lattices;—sometimes only iron gratings;—and sometimes fine linen cloth, instead of glass.†

As in the subsequent additions, made in later ages, to this very

* W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. 149.

† There is found in the Chancel of this Church, a very antient Tomb-stone, on which is an inscription, that has long been almost illegible, by means of the darkness of the place; and in consequence of that circumstance, and of the apparently high

antient Religious Establishment, we have a most curious specimen of a *fortified Monastery*; it may be interesting to give a Plan of its very singular Remains:—and the measures of several of the parts are added, for the sake of comparing it the better with others.

Pl. XXX. shews the whole in a manner sufficient to convey a general idea.

At (A), is the great North Gate of Entrance,—strongly fortified by a Portcullis, and two double gates, one before the Portcullis, and the other behind it; and in the spaces between the Gates, and Portcullis, further fortified, by means of machicolations over head; and also by a provision made for strong barricadoes; to be formed by strong wooden beams of timber, placed in holes and grooves prepared in the side walls, in such manner, that the spaces, between those beams, might even be filled up with stones;—and the whole Gateway be completely walled up.

This Gate leads into the great Court, which is above 300 feet in length; and more than 200 feet in breadth: whilst the whole fortified area, including both this Court, and the Buildings of the Priory, is at least 400 feet in length.

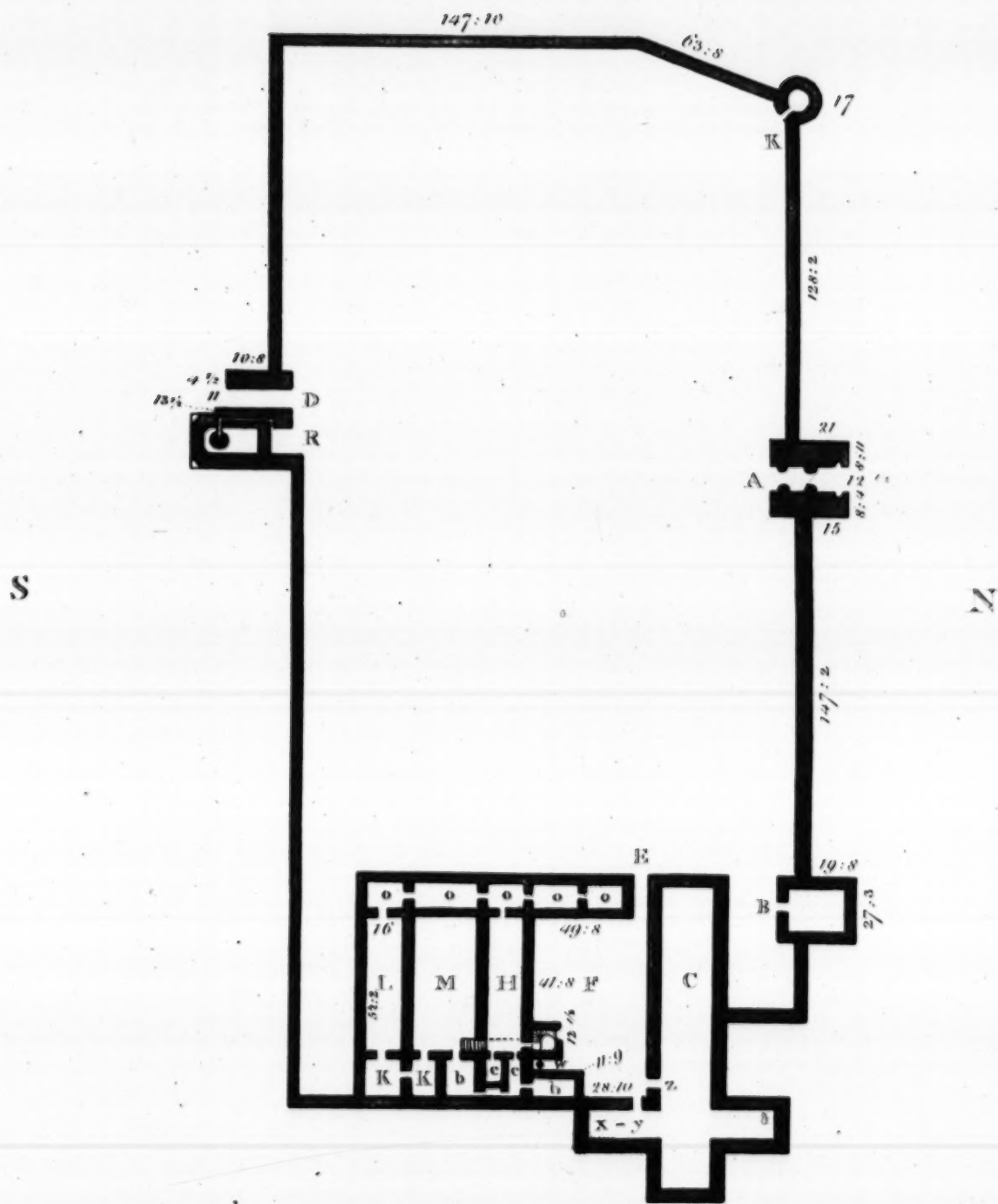
At (B), is a square Tower, which was evidently designed for the occasional lodging of a garrison.—And as the Court is of an irregular figure, at one of the angles, at (K), is a small round Tower, which seems to have been designed as a sort of Keep.

The Walls of the whole Court are from four feet and a half, to five feet thick; varying a little in different parts; but every where very strong.

antiquity of the surrounding ornaments, it has sometimes been suspected to be Saxon;—but Sir Richard Colt Hoare, had the good fortune to bring it to light;—and, in his very curious Annotations on the Itinerary of Giraldus, (p. 149), has given us an exact representation of it, with the inscription at length, which is,

ICI GIST MORICE DE LUNDRES LE FVNDUR
DEU LI RENDE SUN LABUR. AM.

And he has also ascertained, that an old Altar Tomb, in the South Transept, supporting the cumbent, mutilated, effigy of a Knight, in armour, which was long supposed to be that of one of the Turbevilles, Lord of Coyty, is in reality that of a *Sire Roger de Remi*.—The situation of this Tomb is shewn in the Plan, at (x), nearly opposite to the door (y);—and high above, over it, are the small Saxon Arches, which have been represented, Pl. XXIX. Fig. 3.



Ewenny Priory, Glamorgan

E. K. del.

J. C. Stoddart sculp.



At (D), is the South Gate, or Monastick Entrance;—which had no Portcullis; but only cavities in the side walls, for the fixing strong beams across, to form a strong barricado, closing, and walling up the whole passage entirely, in times of alarm, and danger.*—This Gate is under a Tower (R D), strengthened, on

* Some other *fortified* Monasteries will occasionally be hereafter mentioned;—and the strong barricadoes, and munitions of this, in a rough, rude country, such as Wales once was, ought not to surprise us, when there are instances even of more strange precautions used, not only in very early ages, but even to the present age, in countries liable to the inroads of marauders.

The Convent of St. Anthony, near the Red Sea, on the very spot where the monastick mode of life was *first* begun, is still surrounded by a strong high fortified Wall, through which there is no gate, nor any access whatever, except only through a window, at a great height, well flanked by projecting walls on each side; to which window, whoever enters is drawn up by a rope, and pully, by means of a windlass; and in a machine, or sort of basket, let down for the purpose.

And least even this strong wall should be forced, there is within the inclosure, what is evidently a sort of *Syrian Keep Tower*, (such as has been described in the former part of the *Munimenta*, Vol. III. p. 32, 80), having an entrance, only by means of high steps, and a drawbridge; or of a drawbridge from the wall:—and herein it is that they keep their books, and provisions.

Yet in this Convent are Palm Groves; an Apricot Garden; an Olive Plantation; a Vineyard; Caroubi Trees; and three Water Sources; a Mill; and all necessary conveniences:—and, from the top of the Walls, an exceeding fine view.

The same is the case, almost exactly, at the Convent of St. Paul, a day's journey to the north, from this spot.

And the Convent of Mount Sinai, where the body of St. Catherine was deposited, is fortified in the same manner; having the Window of Entrance, at least, thirty feet from the ground; Pococke says, about forty.

These are all described by Pococke, (Vol. I. p. 128, 142), with plans of the two former, taken from a manuscript Map of the Country about them;—and with a still more full Plan of the Convent of Mount Sinai. Pl. LVI. p. 150.

There are two views of the Convent of Mount Sinai, in *Niebuhr's Travels*, Vol. I. tab. xlvii. xlviii. p. 196, 197):—and a confirmation of all that Pococke has said.—But Niebuhr himself (having no letter from the then Bishop of Mount Sinai) could not obtain admittance, notwithstanding his having a letter from a former Patriarch, and notwithstanding the most earnest entreaties, and the waiting with patience a long time.

This Convent is also described by *Shaw*, in his *Travels* (p. 350, fol.):—who says, the Window, to which those who enter are drawn up, is thirty feet from the ground;—but who also describes a *Gate*, which is *continually kept walled up, and barricadoed*, except when the Archbishop (who usually resideth at Kairo) is to be installed.—He describes also the very abstemious diet of the Monks;—but at the same time the exceeding excellence of the grapes, pears, and other productions of their garden.—A strong proof, he says, of the effects of indefatigable industry, and culture.—It is a curious circumstance, and that ought not to pass unnoticed, that the first origin of this Convent seems to have

the external round projecting part, in the Welsh manner, with strong *triangular projecting Buttresses*:—and, within the Court, at (R), on the left hand, is a most remarkable narrow Passage, only one foot six inches, or in any one part, not more than one foot ten inches in width;—but long, and leading to the deep Dungeon, only six feet in diameter, with the vaulted stone roof, —which has already been mentioned* as a monkish Prison.

At (E), within the great Court, is the Priory Gate, leading to the two smaller Courts, which contained the monastick apartments; and which, exclusive of the Church, occupied an inclosed space of more than fourscore feet one way, and of more than an hundred the other.—The whole has been re-edified, manifestly about the time of Henry the Eighth; but evidently upon the very same spot, and using, if not almost entirely, yet a great part of the foundation walls, of the old monastick apartments, as they existed about the age of Edward the Third.—Their Remains, therefore, are sufficient to shew what was the general plan of this Monastery; but as they have undergone such alteration, it would be useless to trace them with great precision.

The Priory Gate (E) has been evidently re-edified since the dissolution. But on entering the first small Court (F), appear two very curious *Saxon Doors*, leading into the Church at (y) and (z);—and at (H), the antient Hall, oddly ascended unto, by a winding flight of steps, in a sort of little vestibule.—This Hall is between fifty and sixty feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth; and at the bottom are two doors, the one leading to the Buttery Offices, (b b b), and the other to a very small Wine Cellar, (c).—At (k k), were the Kitchen Offices, in the second Court, (M).—And most strangely situated, in a little recess, in the first Court, at (W), on the left hand side of the Vestibule, is a Well.—Over the Buttery, and Kitchen Offices, are apartments leading to the Great Chamber, or Gallery, at (L);—which, since the Priory was converted into a private Mansion, appears to have been fitted up, about the time of
been, a strong Tower, built by the Empress *Helena*, for her own convenient residence, when visiting the sacred mountain;—which Tower has since been continually appropriated to be the lodging of the Archbishop, whenever he visits the Convent.

* See p. 155 of this Volume.

Queen Elizabeth; and has the same sort of deep stucco freeze, painted in distemper, as is found at *Hardwick House*, in Derbyshire, and at *Haddon House*.—The devices of this freeze are remarkably odd, and emblematical; and amongst the rest of the figures, is a Dial, formed on the wheel of a cart, of Roman form, bearing an Ark.—The ceiling of this room is painted, and adorned with blue and gold;—and it has communication with the small Apartments (oooo).—These formerly were Cells, and Chambers, for the Religious, and for guests; but both above, and below, they have been so much altered, that I do not pretend to have given their divisions exactly.—Under the Buttery were Beer Cellars.

The antient Conventual *Saxon* Church at Ely, has been so fully and accurately described by Mr. Bentham,* that it would be an injustice to his excellent work, to do otherwise, than merely to refer to his exact Plans, and Representations of that interesting Remain;—from whence it appears, that the proportions of its Pillars, and Arches, are much nearer to those of Greek, and Roman artists, and had a symmetry beyond what we usually find in other *Saxon* Buildings.—Nor is this to be wondered at, any more than that such symmetry should not have been found in the Religious Structures of other nearly contemporary *Saxons*.—For, as has been already mentioned,† this Church was built by *Etheldreda*, Daughter of Anna, King of East Anglia, and Queen to Egfrid, King of Northumberland, with the assistance of Bishop *Wilfrid*, whose uncommon acquirements, and observations when at Rome, might unquestionably enable him to become a more skilful Architect, than any of his contemporaries in England;‡

* See his History of the Church of Ely, Pl. IV. and V. p. 29; and also Pl. XLVIII. XLIX. and L. quite at the end.

† In this Volume, p. 108, 109, 110, 111.—And see Wharton Ang. Sac. p. 594.—Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 89.

‡ His indefatigable pains in converting the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, not only to Christianity, but to the knowledge of the means of obtaining subsistence, and the comforts of life; and his integrity, as *almost a reformer*, in opposing the corruptions that were introduced into the Church, and for which he was persecuted; have been also mentioned in this Volume, p. 47, 48.—He had lived in great splendour, ensnared by high ambition, (*Eddii Vita Wilfredi apud xv. Script. p. 58*):—He had, by ill usage, been

whilst at the same time, the little intercourse there was, in that age, between different parts of the Island, and especially between *Etheldreda's* retirement at Ely, and the interior parts of England, may well account for such proportions not being easily met with in other places.

What the proportions of these Pillars and Arches were, may be seen in Mr. Benthams curious Plates.*—And there also may be seen one of the antient Capitals;†—which is not very unlike one of those at Shoreham, that will be represented in this Work.

In the same curious Plates of Mr. Benthams, are also delineated,‡ the designs of the two Saxon Door-ways, of this old Conventual Church.—In one of which may be observed the transom stone, as it were, supporting the Arch; in the manner which we have mentioned was in fashion, in the earliest Saxon days; and which

tempted to fall into bitter rage:—but amidst both he persevered in labouring to be useful to mankind.—He had been eager to introduce even *auricular confession*;—because he thought it might aid those distressed in mind, who could neither read nor write; and he had been as eager honestly to oppose the *further innovations* of the Councils of *Hartford* and *Hatfield*, with the spirit of a sincere reformer.—In the days of his greatest prosperity, he had journeyed to Rome;—and his great wealth, and affluence, had enabled him to bring back with him, both from Italy, and France,§ the best builders and artists of the times; whilst himself became skilful in Architecture.—He was the very first person who introduced *the use of glass*, in windows,|| in this country; which he did about A. D. 669:—and seven or eight years afterwards, *Abbot Benedict*, who had been his companion on his travels, introduced the art of *making that sort of glass*.—Wilfrid also brought over persons to improve Church Music;¶—whilst *Aldhelm*, the Founder of *Malmsbury*, composed sacred Songs for their performance.

* See his History of the Church of Ely, Pl. IV. p. 29.

† See Pl. XLVIII. Fig. 3.—And it ought to be here added, that we have now still better representations of several of the varieties of these capitals; and also of the mouldings of the Arches; by Mr. Wilkins, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XII. p. 165, 167, Pl. XXVII. and XXVIII.—where they are very judiciously compared with some others, which seem to have been nearly of the same age, at *Dunwich*, in Suffolk; at which place was a Church, like this at Ely, built upon the most truly original *Saxon* plan.

‡ Pl. V.

§ See Benthams, p. 21, 23.—Rich. Prior. Hagulst, lib. i. ca 5.—Will. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 272.—Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. 22.

|| Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. 17, p. 59.—Bedæ His. Abb. Wiremuth. and Gyrw, p. 295.

¶ Eddii Vita Wilfredi, ca. 14.—Bedæ His. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 2.—Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 9.

was therefore not quite omitted by *Wilfrid*, though he certainly understood the nature of the Arch, better than to suppose such transom stone of any real use;—and though it is not a little deserving of notice, that he avoided the *studied dissimilarity* of Capitals, and of ornaments in correspondent parts, so almost uniformly adopted by *Saxon* Architects, in his days.

These two door-ways might almost be taken for *Norman* doors, but that their proportions are less; and that, in the same curious work of Mr. Bentham's, there are representations of two other *really Norman* door-ways,* of the present Cathedral Church; which are of the kind that has occasioned so much confusion in the apprehensions of several skilful Antiquaries, in their ideas of *Saxon*, and *Norman* architecture.

One of these latter door-ways, has the *transom stone* supporting the arch; and ornaments upon it, and on the side pillars, and pilasters, as thickly placed, and as rich, as at any *Saxon* Church.

But there is one circumstance, which being carefully attended to, will, both in this, and in all other similar instances, (whereof another occurs again in a Cloister door at *Norwich*), at once decide the difference;—and shew *where* the true distinction between the *Norman*, and the *Saxon*, is to be discerned—and this is, that there is in the Norman, a *regularity* and *correspondence*, in the ornaments on each side, which is not to be found in the *Saxon*.—And there is also an elegance, in the particular design, and execution of each individual part, in the Norman; beyond what is usually to be seen in the *Saxon*.

Etheldreda having built her Church, and Monastery; bestowed upon it all the great possessions, and rights, which she had either from her father, or from her first husband *Tonbert*, the East-*Anglian* Prince;†—and these were afterwards confirmed by a Charter of King *Edgar's*:—and from hence are derived, both the *exclusive jurisdiction* of the Isle of Ely, now vested in its Bishop; and also its claim to be a *Principality*.‡

* Pl. VI. and VII. p. 35.

† Bentham's Ely, p. 47, 73.

‡ Perhaps there ought not to be passed by unnoticed, on this occasion, a circumstance

Some little circumstances of history, connected with this most antient religious establishment, are so singular, and so illustrative both of the savage manners, and of the scantiness of civilization, and cultivation, during the *Saxon* period, that amidst enquiries designed to fling light on the progress of manners, as well as of architecture, they ought not to be passed by in silence.

As was the case at *Gloucester*, so likewise here, Ladies of the highest distinction, seeking the advantages of peace, and science, and of the most refined society, and converse, known in those days, presided in succession, for a number of years, till A. D. 870.*

After Queen *Etheldreda*, there presided *Sexburga*, the wife of *Erconbert* King of Kent;—then *Ermenilda*, wife of *Ulferus* King of Mercia.†—And then *Werbura*, the daughter of *Ermenilda*.

It then ceased to be a foundation for ladies.—For here, as well as in other places, after the destruction of many religious houses by the marauding Danes, Benedictine monks were placed in the room of pious women.

Brithnoth, the first Abbot, who presided over these Monks, having, unfortunately for himself, been unwillingly an eye-witness, by accident, of some horrid superstitious ceremonies, and acts of *Sorcery*, performed by the fair Queen *Elfrida*, under a tree in a forest;‡ and having ventured to reprove her, for the irregu-

mentioned by Lord Coke, (Coke Littleton, fol. 7),—that the real formal *sealing* of Deeds, and Charters, appears to have been more antient than some have imagined;—in the instance of a Charter of King *Edwin*, brother of *Edgar*, of land called *Jecklea*, in the Isle of Ely, A. D. 936. having been *sealed*, both with his own seal, and that of the Bishop of Winchester.—The fact we must take, only on such credit as it stands avowed—and can only observe, that as to disputes concerning *forgeries*, there is no end—and therefore, *valeat quantum valere potest*.

* Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 87.

† Brown Willis, Vol. I. p. 269.

‡ It is impossible to forget the many admonitions, in the writings of the Apostles, against such sort of practices.—And it is a melancholy proof that they continued so long in the world, even after the light of the Gospel, that in the reign even of *Canute*, it was found necessary to promulgate an express law, against the idolatrous worship of trees, and fountains; and against superstitious heathenish practices.—LL. Politic Canuti Regis, ca. 5.—Apud Lendenbrog in Glossar. p. 1473.—See also Henry's Hist. Vol. I. p. 181.

larity of her life, and manners, was cruelly murdered,* by her orders, in 981; by having long red hot pins thrust into his body, under his arm-pits.

But in contrast to this, about A. D. 991, the second Abbot, *Elsin*, so won the heart of the fierce, and gigantick Duke *Brithnoth*, by his great hospitality, in entertaining both the Duke, and his soldiers, when marching to attack the Danes, who had plundered the coast of Suffolk, and were just landed again at *Maldon*, in *Essex*; that the Duke, to give proof of his satisfaction, endowed the Monastery with many capital manors;—and gave great sums of gold, and silver; and some parts of his rich wardrobe, on condition that his body, if he were slain, should be buried in the Church.†—As he was unfortunately soon slain; the Monks soon obtained both:—and as *Brithnoth*, their first Abbot, had been the very first introducer of *any kind of gardening* into this country;‡ it easily came to pass, when the Monks became thus possessed of great additional wealth; that under the care of the religious, the Isle of Ely was soon rendered *more pleasantly cultivated*, than any other parts of England:—and the contrast was so striking, that when King *Canute*, (about 1030), whose Chancellor was then Abbot of Ely, went to visit the Isle, with *Emma* his Queen, and many nobles; on seeing the verdure, and hearing the distant harmony of the Choir, as he approached, this great Prince, became as if suddenly inspired, and starting up in the boat, both composed, and sung, an extempore song, which is still preserved.§

* Bentham's History of Ely, p. 80.

† Ibid: p. 84, 85.

‡ Hist. Eliens apud Gale, Lib. ii. ca. 2.

§ Bentham's Ely, p. 94. In like manner, another of these insulated retreats, *Croyland*, [though in the midst of a most dreadful Fen, and marsh, in Lincolnshire, was rendered, in the estimation of those who lived in Saxon times, a most beautiful, and desirable spot, by means of the introduction of a little regular gardening.—Its grove of alders, kept up from age to age, near the church; || its verdant waving willows; and even its high green rushes, marshalled with care, may easily be conceived to have had almost an enchanting effect; in an age when nearly every other tract, and nearly every human mind, was in a rude, wild, uncultivated state;—barely rendered useful so far, as to produce the absolute

|| Camden, Gough's Ed. Vol. II. p. 224.

Not so poor Prince Alfred; who, as has been already mentioned,* was basely seized by Earl Goodwin, A. D. 1036, in the Castle of Guildford in Surry, where he had been honourably received as a guest; and was afterwards conveyed to Ely, to be confined in this Monastery. Part of the way he was carried upon a horse, with his legs tied under the belly; and being afterwards put into a boat, when he drew near the shore at Ely, before they landed him, he was forced to undergo the cruel operation of having his eyes forced out:† of the consequences of which barbarous act he died in the Monastery.

As these few specimens may be sufficient, to illustrate what remains of the larger Conventual *Saxon Churches*, we may now return to bestow a little further attention upon some others of a smaller kind.—And amongst these, a most singular antient Church, in which the characteristick wild irregularity of the earliest *Saxon*

necessaries of life.—The garden at *Croyland* was so cultivated, as to be called, even in the time of the Conqueror, *the Vineyard*.‡—And Ingulphus tells us, that fruitful fields were formed in meadows, which a little before had been impassable bogs; and a delightful garden, out of the pits, and mire.§

Not far from Ely, also, and plainly by the means of this little skill in gardening, first introduced by Abbot Brithnoth, *Thorney Abbey*, in Cambridgeshire, (another Monastery in a sad marshy situation), became in estimation so pleasant, that William of Malmesbury described it as a terrestrial paradise. It was first built by *Saxulph*, Abbot of Peterborough, about A. D. 870, and refounded by *Ethelwold*, Bishop of Winchester A. D. 972.

The words of Malmesbury, in his description of this *marshland garden*, are so descriptive of all the very circumstances that occasioned such places to become in the eyes of beholders the pleasantest spots in England, that they ought not to be omitted.

“Thorneia ulterior scripto et contractior spacio, sed prior laudum titulo, paradisi simulachrum, quod amœnitate jam coelos ipsos imagnetur, in ipsis paludibus arborum ferax, quæ enodi proceritate luctantur ad sydera, æquora planities herbarum viridantibus comis oculos aduocant, currentibus per campum nullus offensionis datur locus. Nulla ibi vel exigua terræ portio vacat, hic in pomiferas arbores terra se subigit; hic prætexitur ager vineis, quæ vel per terram repunt, vel per baiulos palos in celsum surgunt. Mutuum certamen naturæ et cultus, ut quod obliviscitur illa producat iste.” ||

* Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. III. p. 230.

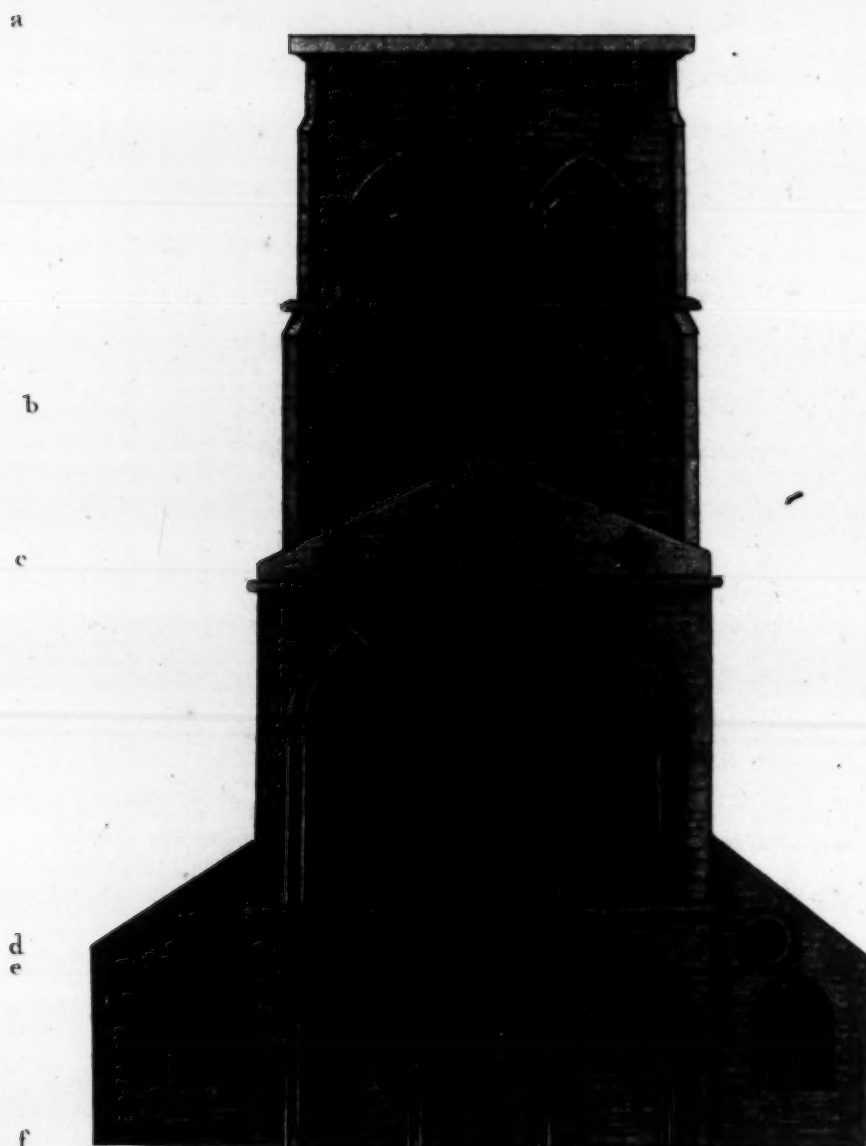
† Bentham, p. 96.—From Matt. West.—Floren. Wigorn.—Roger de Hoveden, &c.

‡ Ingulphi Hist. p. 75.

§ See also very curious extracts in Steevens' Additions to Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 366.

|| Vide Scriptores post Bedam, p. 294.





A.C. del.

J.C. Stadler sculp.

Tower at New Thorham.

style appears, even in a still more striking manner than almost any where else, is to be found at *New Shoreham* in Sussex ;—which seems to derive its name, very oddly, (though it is indeed one of the most antient towns in England), merely from its having been built, during the very earliest dawns, and improvements, of civilization amongst the Saxons ; on a spot that was somewhat preferable to the *then Old Shoreham*, because of the greater convenience of the harbour, in this place.

Its Church, therefore, although the name of *New Shoreham* conveys an idea of a more recent date, is unquestionably much more antient than that now standing at *Old Shoreham* ; where no Church seems in reality to have existed, at the time when this was built.—And it is indeed one of the most curious, and interesting structures in this country.

It is so very antient, that just as is the case with that at *Barfreston*, in Kent, no original authentick records are to be met with, concerning it : though it is known, that in Norman ages, long subsequent to its building, a house of Carmelites, or White Friars, was established in this town.

Its architecture, in the more antient part, exhibits, in the most decided manner, that strange irregularity, and studied dissimilarity in apparently corresponding parts, which, in the most antient Saxon buildings, is always so glaringly conspicuous—and at the same time this structure contains that sort of very curious mixture of the additional architecture of various long succeeding ages, that gives to some of our first built churches, the strange appearance, of having some of the *upper* parts of their walls built *before* the lower.

This is most conspicuous in the Tower, represented Pl. XXXI. : where the two divisions in the upper part, opposite to (a) and (b), appear to be most truly *Saxon* ; and to have been built about the time of King *Edgar* ; and with this very strange peculiarity, (unless it may be supposed to have had such addition made, when the other parts of the Tower were altered, and repaired), that there seems to have been introduced, the ornament of a *pointed arch*, long before that species of ornament was introduced into common use ; as we

have already observed was certainly the case, in some few of the most antient Castles, and particularly at *Guildford* in *Surry*.*—The manner however in which both the pointed arch, and the more inward circular arch, are here filled up with stone-work, as if to support the whole of the arches, as the *transom stone* often seems to do, in other early *Saxon* buildings, is very remarkable:—and so also is the *smallness* of the real open arches of these windows themselves,—another circumstance that points out a *Saxon* original.

It may be observed further, that these upper windows have a considerable degree of similarity, (except in their pointed arches) to the uppermost windows, in the antient Tower at *St. Alban's*, represented Pl. XVII.

The third division of the Tower, at *Shoreham*, lower down, opposite to (c), and (d), appears most obviously to contain a large window, inserted by way of repair, and addition, about the age of Henry the Third.

And the lowermost division, beneath, opposite to (e), and (f), contains again arches, that appear to be *Saxon*; but not of so very antient a date as those high above:—whilst the two little wings, forming the west ends of the side ailes, are certainly of a very much later date, than any of the rest of the structure; and seem to have been added, even so late as the time of Henry the IVth, or Vth.†

The interior part of the Church, contains specimens of a style of building, still more antient, and original, than the Tower.

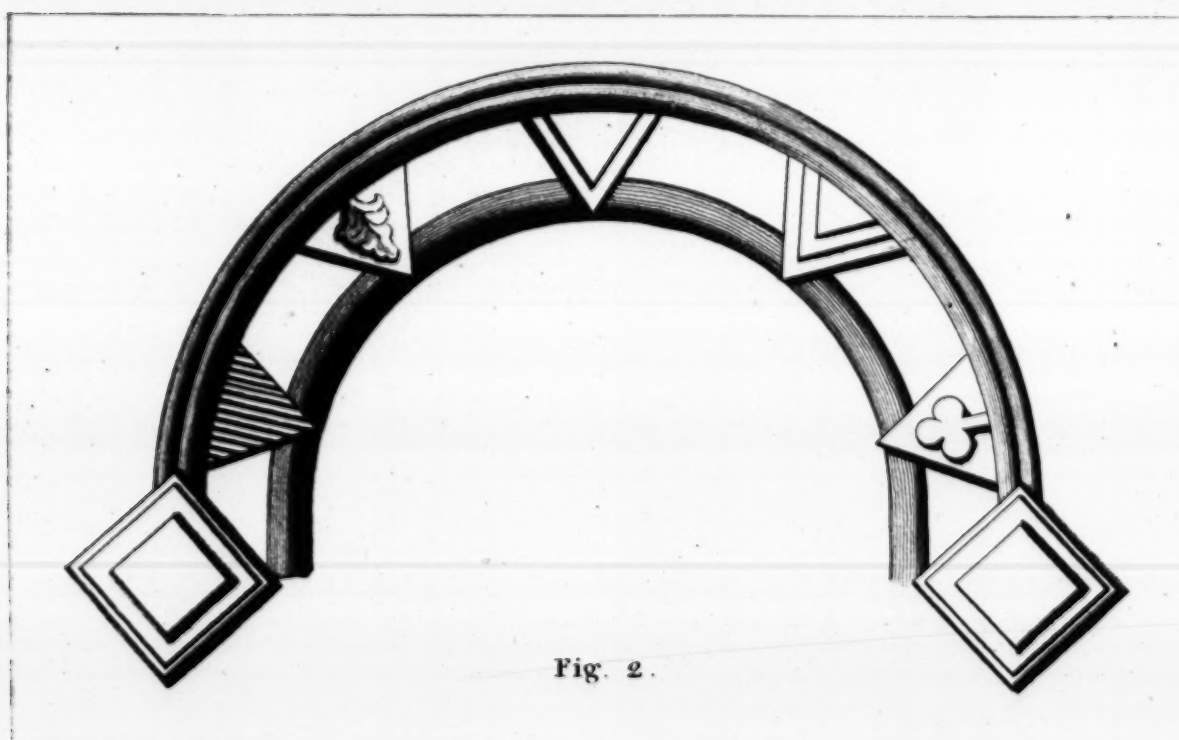
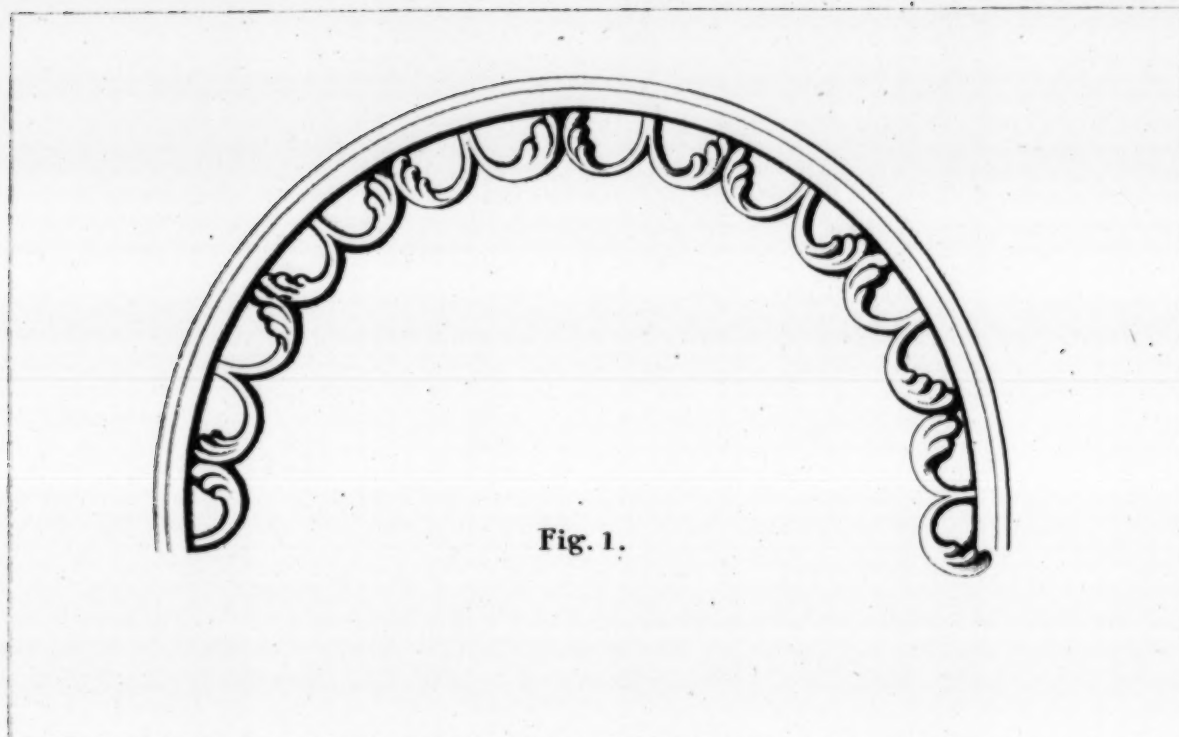
It would fill a volume, to do justice to the peculiar curiosity of this whole structure.

In a row of arches, against one of the side walls, in which almost every arch is varied from its fellow, we find the very ele-

* See in the Third Volume of this Work, p. 234, 236, and p. 160, 164; see also in this Volume, an appearance at *Pershore*, p. 103, Pl. XI. Fig. (1).

† This was just about the age when the *Carmelites*, or *White Friars*, became the objects of encouragement, to the most serious and best disposed people; as being labouring, preaching Friars, who endeavoured anew to instruct, and to lead mankind to consideration, and to some real knowledge of truth; instead of adopting the torpid supersition of the Monks;—or of imitating their general ignorance, and lazy vices.





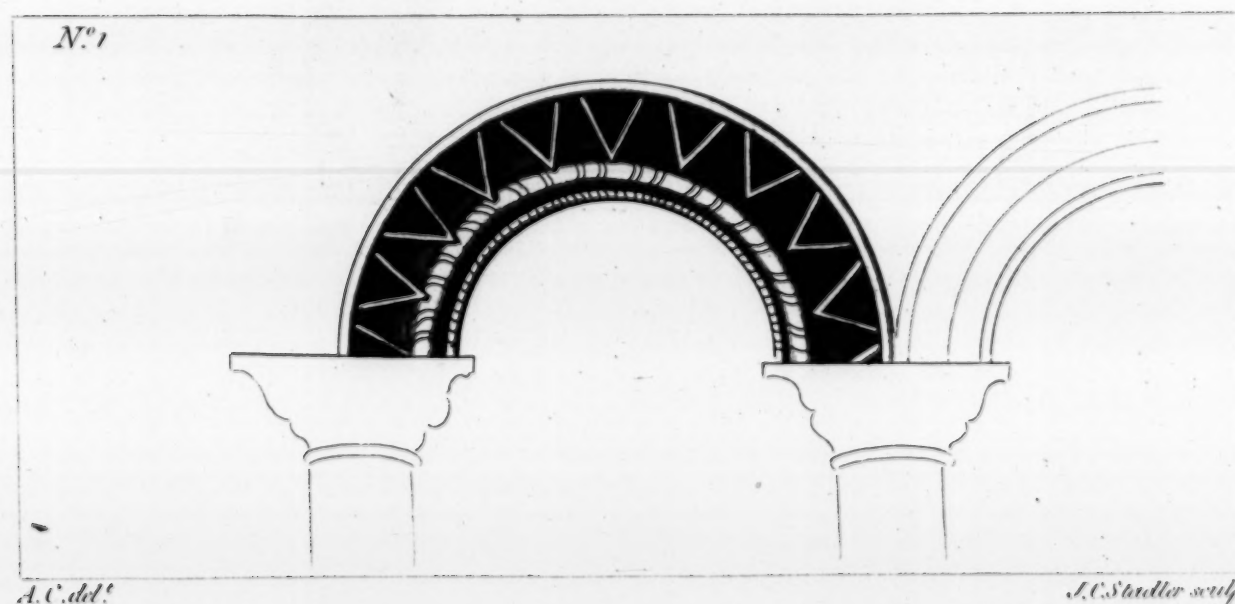
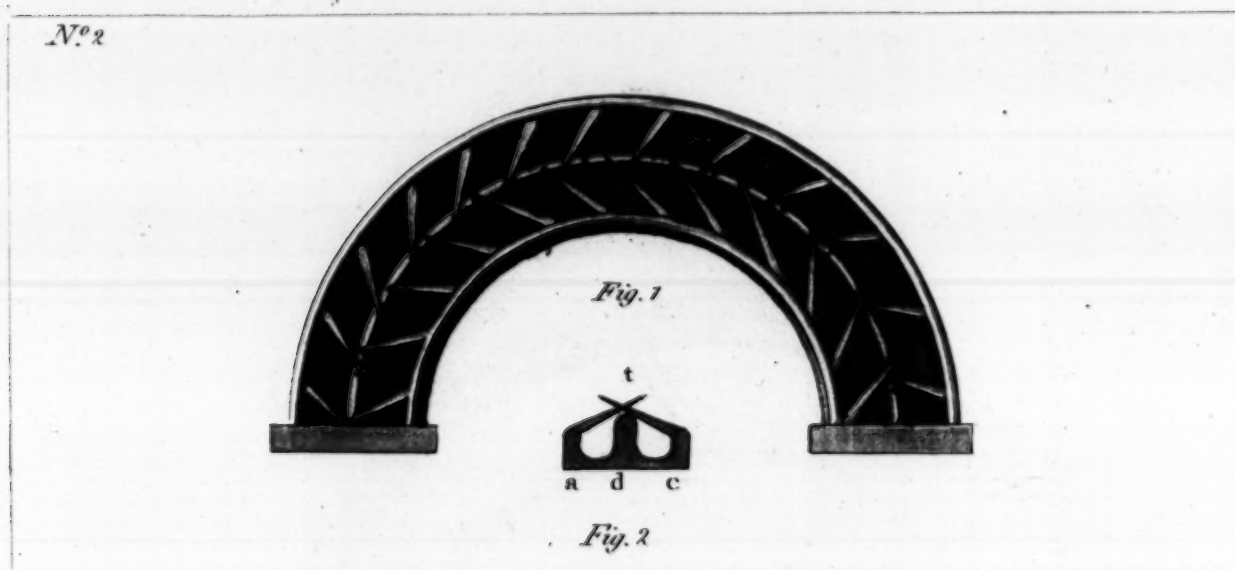
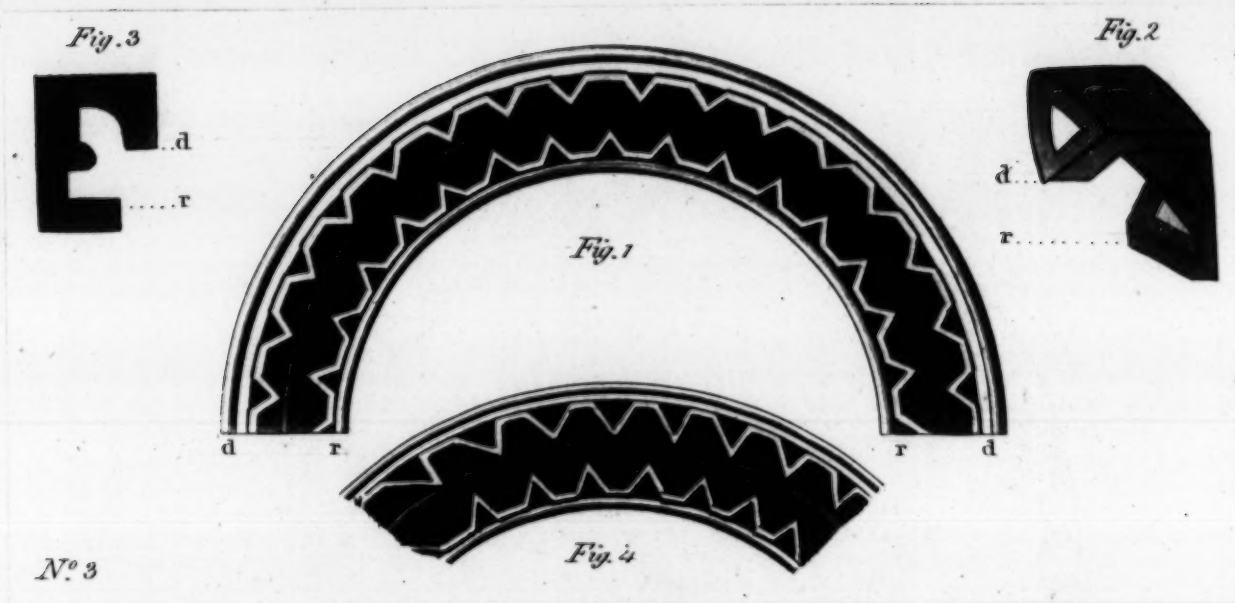
A. C. Allen.

Rebus engr.

Arches at Shorcham

Published as the 1st No. of the 12th Vol. of the 4th Ser. in 1847.





A.C. del.

J.C. Studler sculp.

Arches at New Thorcham, - Landaff and Cleve

gant one represented Pl. XXXII. Fig. 1. whose ornamental foliage is cut in bold relief, standing out quite clear from the wall.

And in another part, we find the arch represented Fig. 2;—wherein every individual ornament appears to have been most carefully made different from any other; and yet so as to preserve an appearance of uniformity in the whole.—Both the inner and outer semicircles, and all the indentations, are cut and carved in the most bold *alto-relievo*, clear from the wall.—And the varieties and boldness of the open work of several others of the arches, are not at all less curious than of this.

One other of them is represented Pl. XXXIII. No. 1, with a slight sketch of its pillars, and of the springing of the arch adjoining—and it should be remarked, that the sort of triangular fretwork is here again not merely in bold relief; but its parts are actually more than in *alto-relievo*; and stand as detached from the wall, and resting on the two semicircular mouldings, with an absolute hollow space between them and the part behind.

And that this sort of bold carved work, was not uncommon amongst the Saxons, appears from two other arches, shewn in the same plate;—one whereof, No. 2, is still remaining, in the most antient part of the Cathedral at *Llandaff*, in Glamorganshire.

It has been supposed,* that the present Cathedral there, was first built by Bishop *Urban*, A. D. 1120; and that, therefore, all its most antient parts are *Norman*—but a close inspection of many of those antient parts, plainly shews that this is a mistake.—And indeed, as it is well known that a Church existed at *Llandaff*, at least as early as A. D. 612;† and that this was one of the most distinguished Bishopricks in Wales; and only at a very little distance from *Caerleon*, the most distinguished seat of arts, and of science in the early ages; it would be very extraordinary indeed, if there were no remains of early architecture here; whilst such still exist, in so distinct a manner, in places of much less note.—But such there are at *Llandaff*, both numerous, and of the most elegant, and most curious kind.—Remains, existing in such lower parts of the

* See Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 499.

† Dugdale, Vol. III. p. 188, 191.

walls, as appear obviously to have belonged to a more antient, and more original structure, than that of *Urban*, reared above them.

Amongst these is the Arch in question ;—which seems to have had, in its construction, a pious allusion to the crown of thorns ; and may therefore be called the *thorny arch*.

Its external appearance is shewn Pl. XXXIII. No. 2, Fig. 1, — and in Fig. 2, placed underneath, which represents a section cut through, from the front of the wall behind, its constituent parts are explained.

(a) And (c) shew the relief, and great projection, of the internal, and external semicircular mouldings ; and (b) the high projection of the middle semicircular moulding ;—on which three mouldings, the carved representations of the thorns, are made to rest, projecting still further from the flat surface of the wall (a b c), to (t), with sharp points.

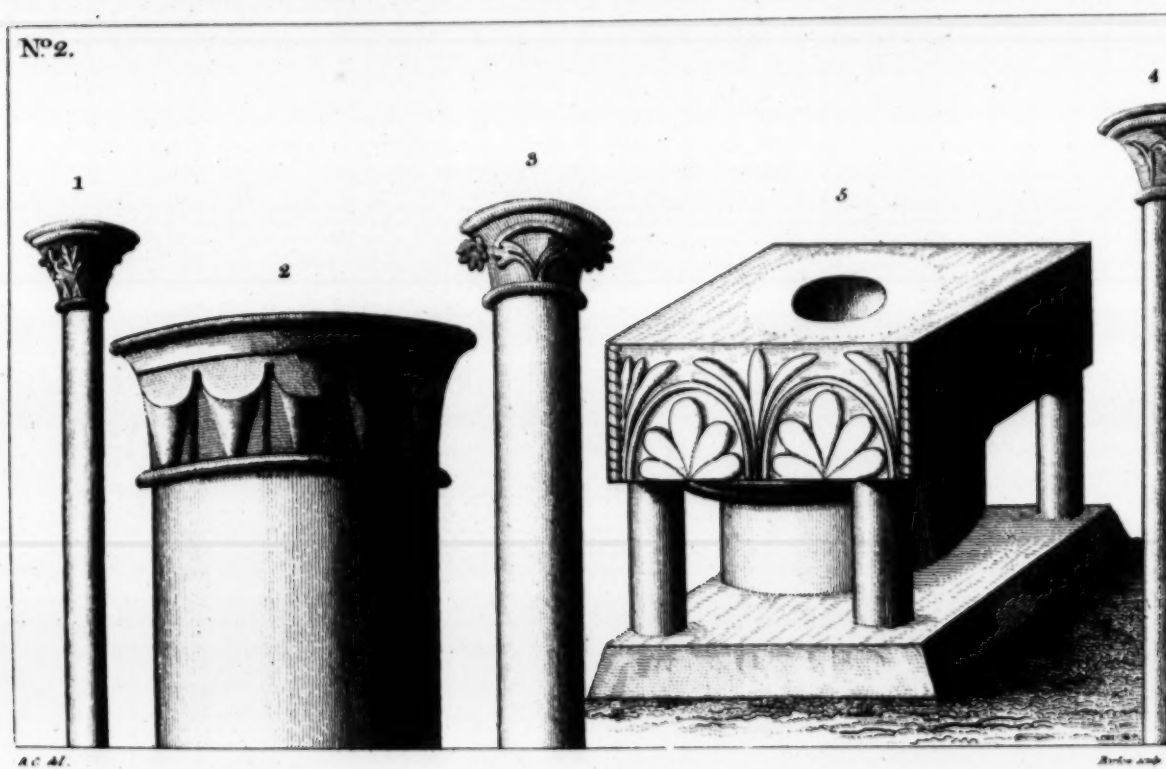
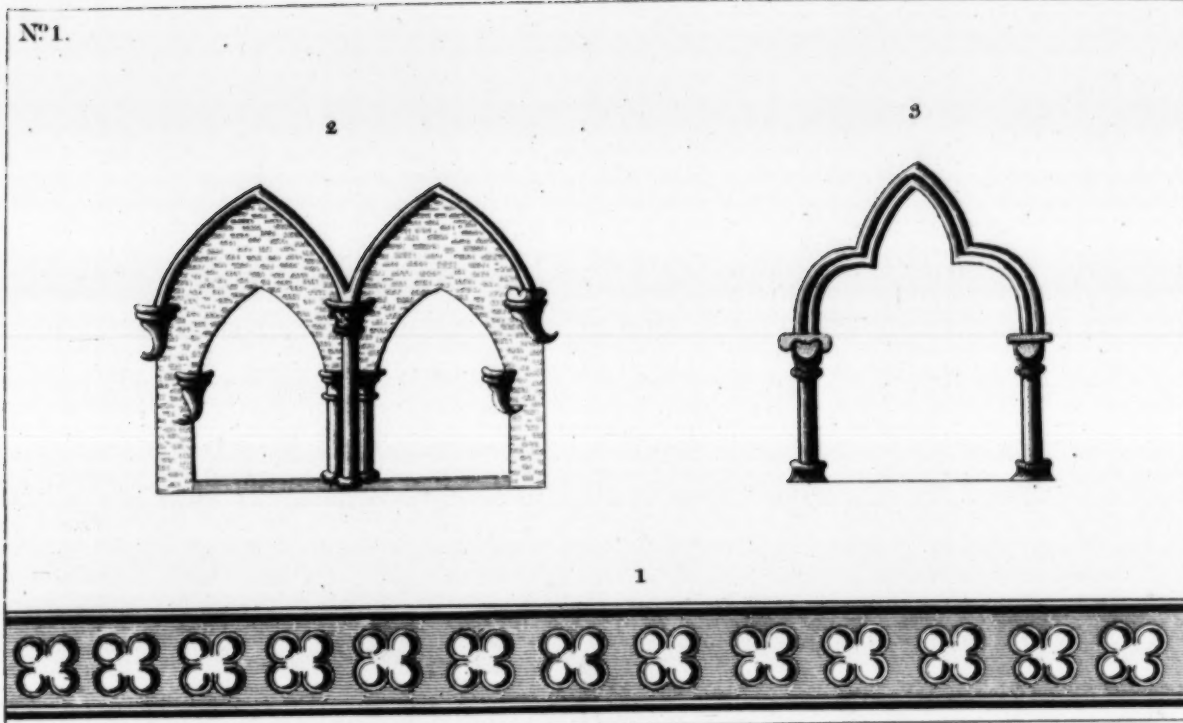
There is another Arch, on the south side of the Church, at *Llandaff*, which nearly resembles some of those at *Shoreham* :—and both are very obviously, far, far different from the circular really Norman Arch of the west door.

Again, at the curious antient Church of *Cleve*, in Gloucestershire, there is another of these curious *Saxon* Arches, that is represented Pl. XXXIII. No. 3, Fig. 1, as far as is possible to represent it by a drawing ;—for never surely was any thing so difficult. — A little description therefore must somewhat supply the defect. — The indented parts of the circular moulding (d d) are beyond *alto-relievo* ; having a void, clear space left behind, between them and the flat wall. And the indented parts of the circular moulding, (r r), stand right out, perpendicularly from the wall, and approaching, straight forwards, towards the eye of the beholder.

Fig. 2. is a sketch, in order to shew this in the instance of one single triangle, of those, whereof each indented moulding consists :—and Fig. 3. is an endeavour to explain the whole, by a section ;—whilst Fig. 4. placed beneath, is an endeavour to shew the appearance, in a side view, and different direction. — But, in truth, no pencil can give the proper effect to the appearance.

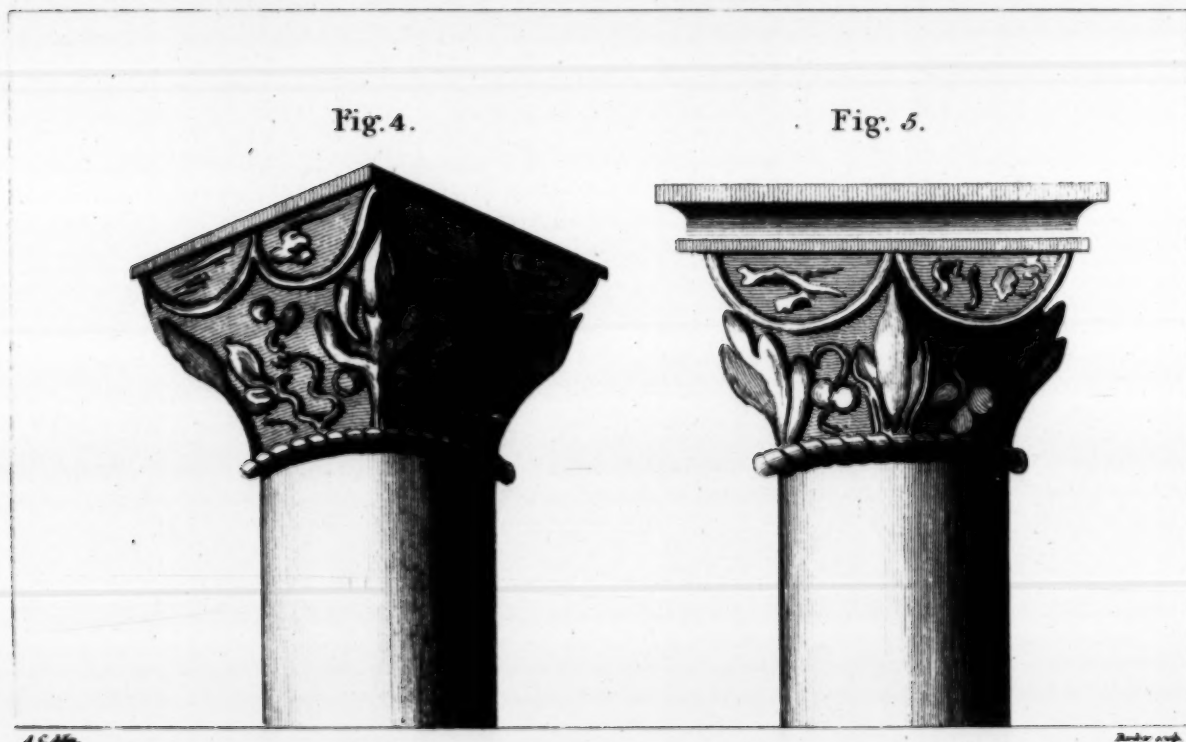
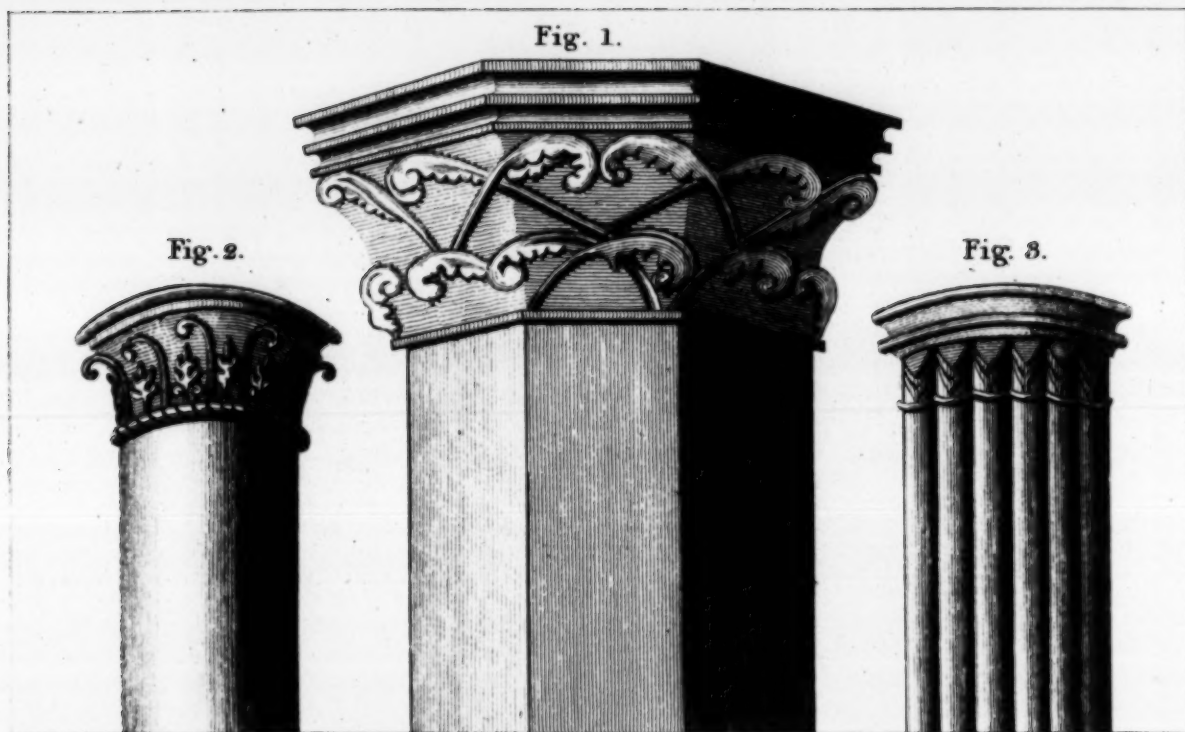
In some parts of the Church, at *New-Shoreham*, we also find odd





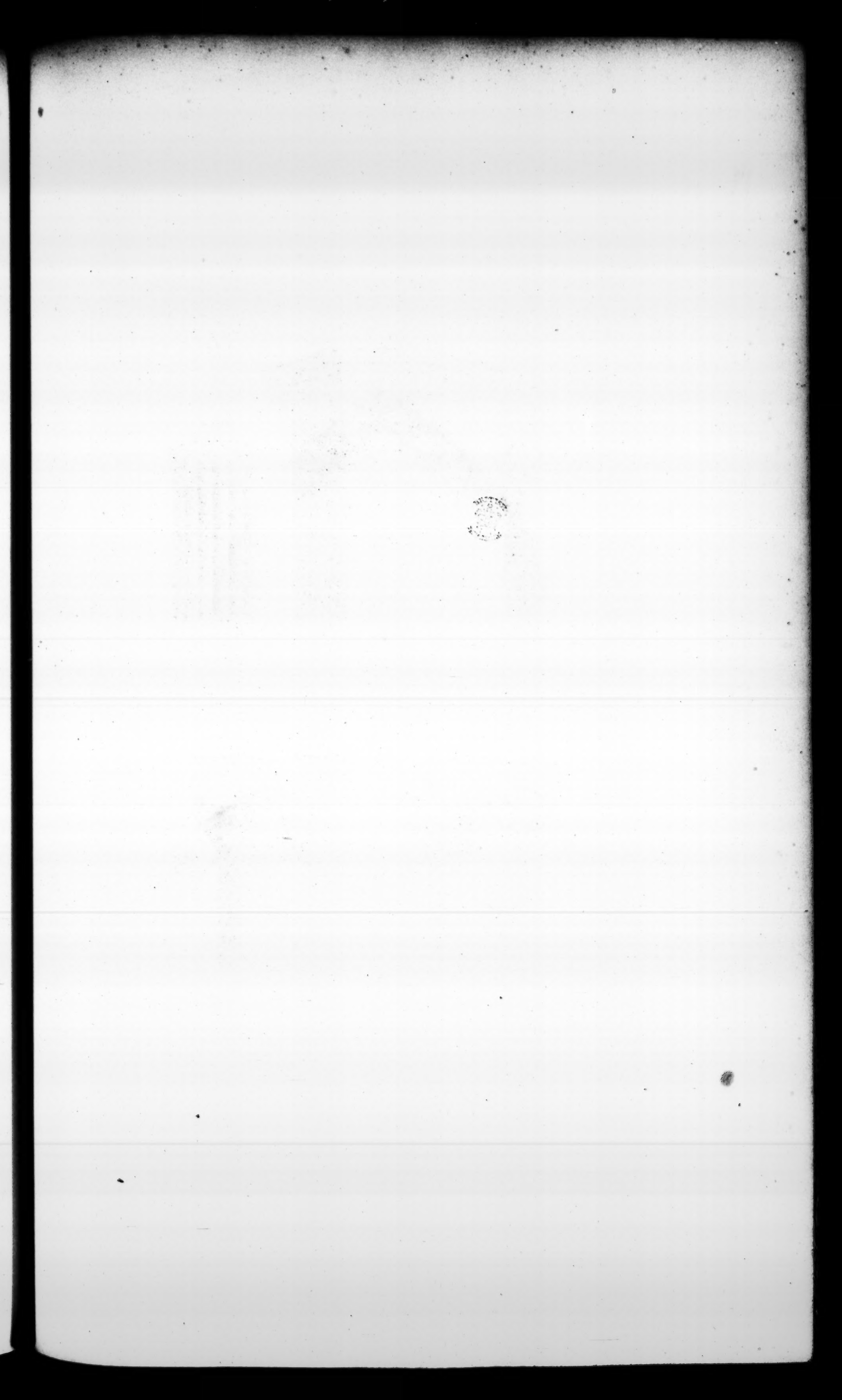
Remains at New Shoreham.

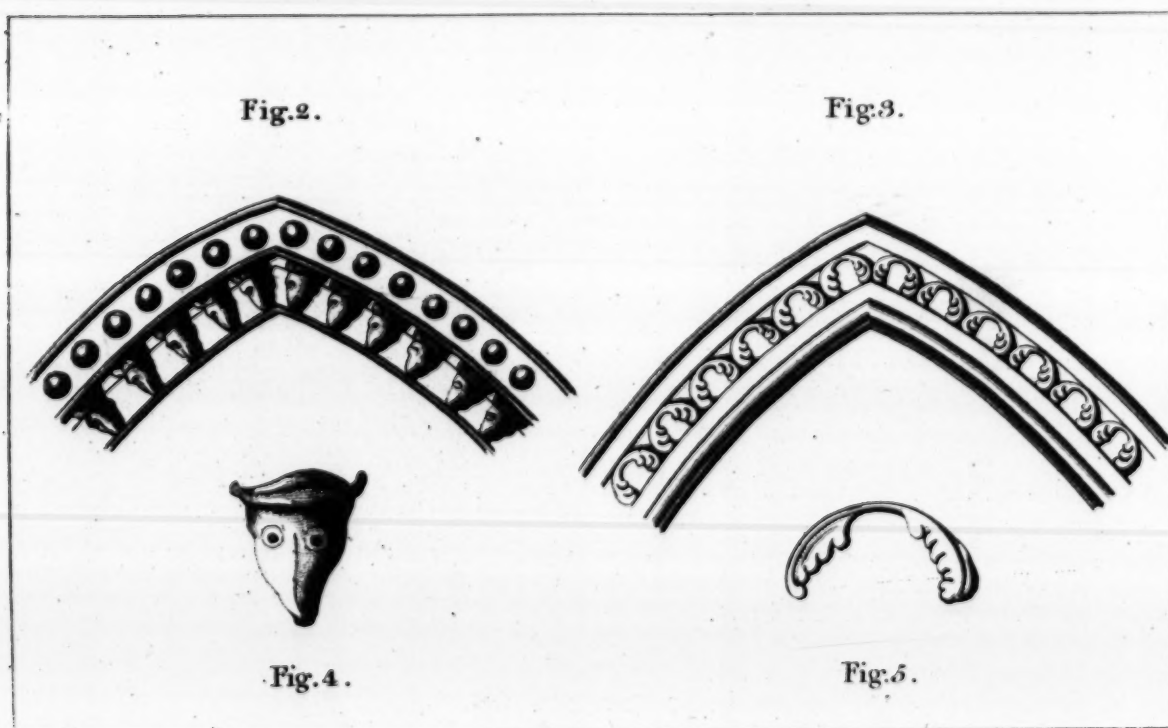
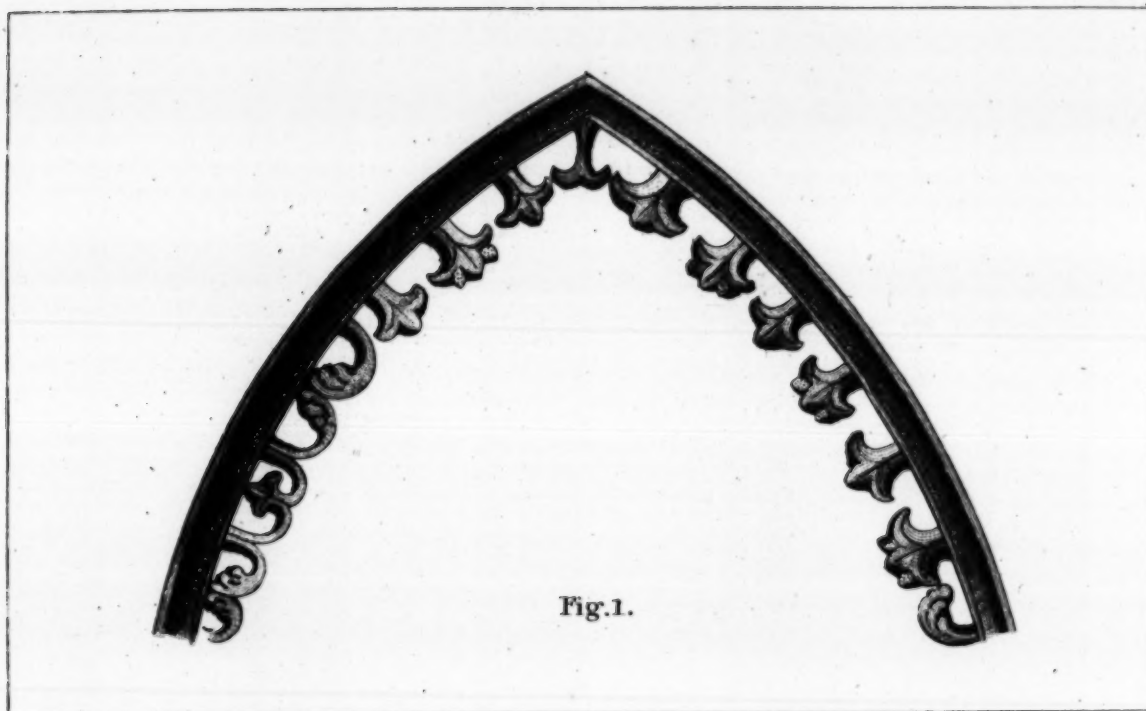




Remains at Shorham, Bosgrove, and Rumsey.

Published as the Act directs by G. Nichols and W. P. Wood.





Arches at New Shoreham?

Published in the Art Monthly by G. Virt & Son. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

mouldings, and freezes against the walls; as at *Barfreston*.—One of these is represented Pl. XXXIV. No. 1, Fig. 1.

It is placed just over some of the lower great Arches; and between them, and some more modern Arches, of the time of Henry the Third, which have been added in the part of the wall above;—and which last are shewn Fig. (2) and (3): and are of a most singularly odd construction; especially as to the brackets, or consoles, supporting the sides, or bearings of those No. 2.

The slight drawings Fig. (1, 2, 3, 4,) Pl. XXXIV. No. 2,—and Fig. (1) and (2), Pl. XXXV. No. 1, will serve sufficiently to shew the odd sort of fantastick designs of the capitals, of several of the antient Pillars at *Shoreham*.

And by way of comparison, and also as being in a degree similar to some others of them, Fig. (3), Pl. XXXV. represents one at *Bosgrave* in *Sussex*; and Fig. (4) and (5), represent two at *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*.

These sort of remains of the most antient *Saxon* times, are to be met with in more churches than is generally supposed;—and they are very often mistaken, as to their date:—because, in other places, as well as in a part of the Church of *Shoreham*, the original round Arches which such Pillars once supported, have been pulled down, and *pointed ones* built in their stead; or even the very identical old round Arches have been cut into *pointed Arches*.

Pl. XXXVI. represents some of these at *Shoreham*;—wherein, if they were not odd instances of attempts to introduce the *pointed Arch* long before it came into common use, (concerning which there may perhaps be formed some suspicions), still the odd fantastick kind of work, found in the more antient parts of the Church, is in a very remarkable manner *imitated*.

This appears particularly in Fig. (1), and in Fig. (2) and (3), whilst the oddity of the ornaments of those two Arches is shewn Fig. (4) and (5), more exactly, on a larger scale.

Before we quit *Shoreham*, it may also be right just to mention, as a further badge of its antiquity, that there is a truly antient Font there; of which Fig. 5. Pl. XXXIV. is a slight sketch.

The next most antient *Saxon* Church that may deservedly be brought to remembrance, on this occasion, as illustrating these remarks, is *Cleve* in Gloucestershire, a part of which structure has already been referred to.

This parish is called *Bishop's Cleve*: and in *Domesday Book* is said to have been held of the Church of *Worcester*, in the reign of King *William* the Conqueror, when *Ulstun* was Bishop there.*—And as *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester*, in the time of King *Edgar*, was one of the most strenuous supporters of all *Dunstan's* measures, we may be well assured, that a Church existed here, in early *Saxon* times; under that patronage.

The present structure retains evident marks, in various parts, of having been of this high antiquity; notwithstanding the reparations, and alterations, that have been since made.

One most remarkable Arch of a Door-way, in this Church, has already been described, Pl. XXXIII. No. 3.+

Another Door-way is here represented, Pl. XXXVII. Fig. 1;—the *allegorical* simplicity of whose design, shews the inoffensiveness of the *Saxon* emblematical devices;—whilst the regularity of its mouldings, shews it to have been of a later age than those already described, and nearer to the time of the Conquest.

The representation of two dead serpents, forms the upper moulding, with the extremities of their tails elegantly entwined, by way of ornament to the crown of the Arch; but with their heads hanging, in a flaccid manner, downwards; as being emblems of the destruction of the power of the serpent, and of the victory over the great enemy of mankind.

This kind of simple allegorical device is surely *Saxon*,—and the Pillars beneath, stand on each side, quite *within* the compass of the Arch, also in a truly *Saxon* manner.†—But, in other respects, the mouldings are such as might be suspected to have been *Norman*.—

* See also Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 284.

+ See in this Volume, p. 180.

‡ The width of the inner Arch is

The height to the top of the Pillars

The breadth of the Arches outwards

Ft. Inch.

4 3

6 7

2 5

Fig 2

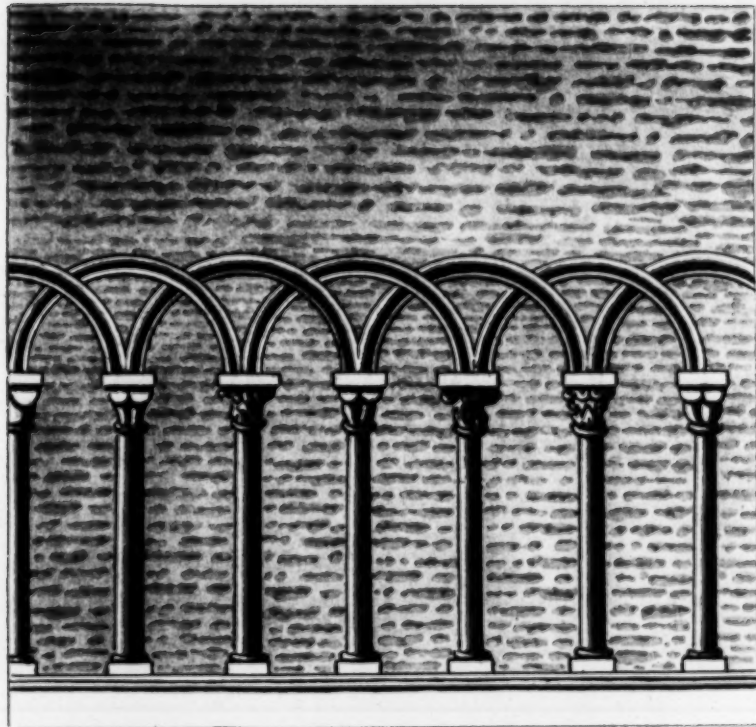


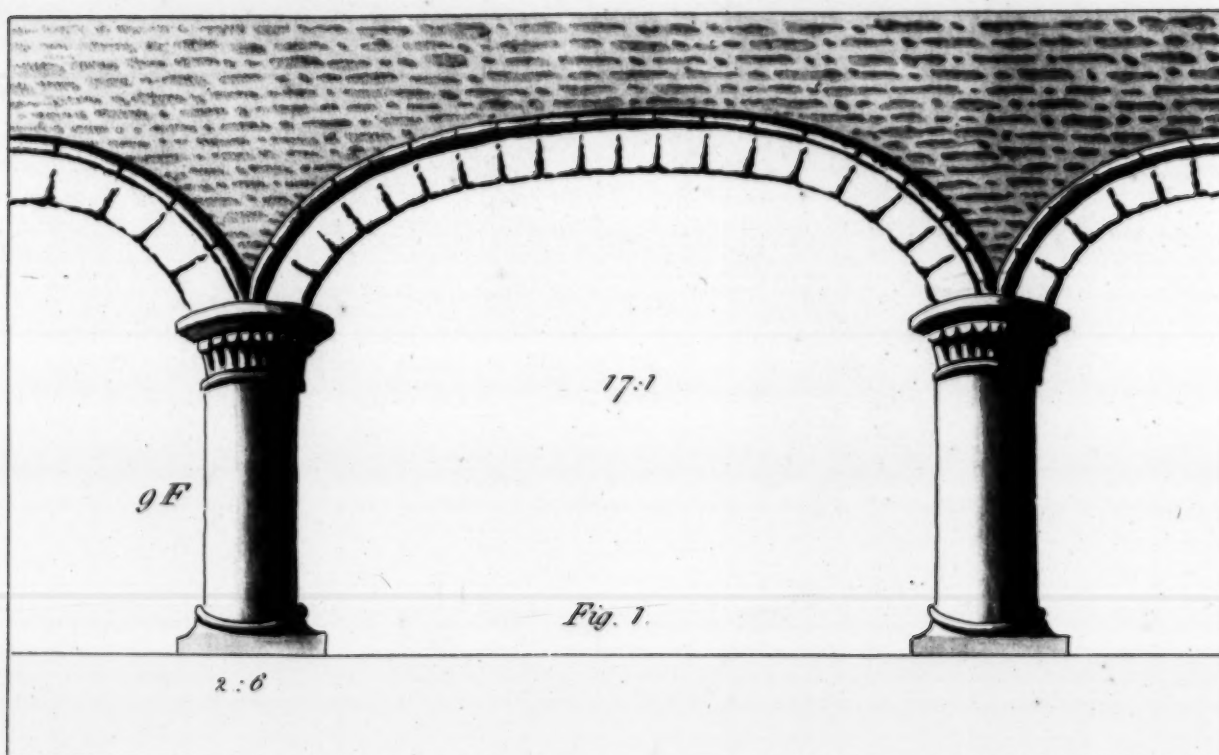
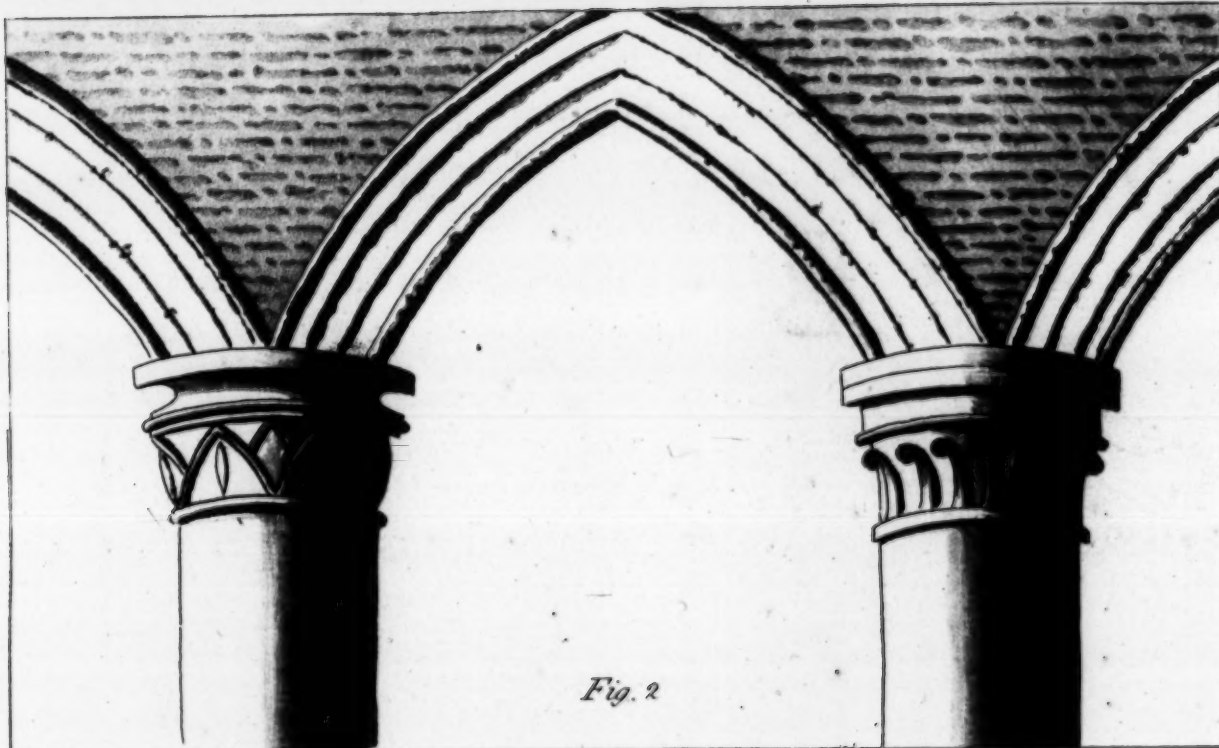
Fig 1.



A.C. del.

J.C. Staller sculp.

Door way and Arches at Cleve, in Gloucestershire.



A.C. del.

J.C. Stodler sculp.

*Modern Arches placed on ancient Pillars, both Saxon & Norman,
at Cleeve, and at Battle.*

And, indeed, on the two sides of the Porch also, to which this door belongs, are found some large *intersecting* Arches, placed on pilasters, by way of ornament to the walls, such as were at first introduced in *Saxon* buildings, but which were more peculiarly in fashion in the age of *Henry the First*.—There is, however, here a particularity of *variety in the capitals*, which evidently shews them to have been more antient than the days of Henry the First.—This may be seen in a pretty exact representation of them, Pl. XXXVII. Fig. 2.

Amongst the more modern alterations, *within* this antient Church, we find, upon the tops of the old original *Saxon* Pillars, in lieu of their primitive circular Arches, others now placed of a different form, and more recent date. And one of these, which is the most singular flat Arch, that can be beheld, is represented Pl. XXXVIII. Fig. 1.

The Pillars are only nine feet high, and two feet and an half in diameter:—but the intercolumniation is seventeen feet one inch.—The antient original Capitals have manifestly been preserved;—and the Arch is as far as possible from being what is called the *Wolsey Arch*; or the Arch of four Centres; for it has no sort of *point* to crown it;—and is much nearer to the being elliptical, than of any other regular form, if it be not exactly so.

In other parts of this building, Arches that are really *pointed*, are found placed upon antient *Saxon* Pillars.*—And the greatest part of the present body of the Church, seems to have been rebuilt, about the age of Henry the Third.

Further, it deserves notice, that in the upper part of the two little Towers, at the west end of this Church at *Cleve*, there are some large *Saxon* Arches, very remarkable for the vastness of proportion, in respect to the Arch, of their indented ornaments;

* There is in Mr. Lyson's interesting *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, Pl. LVIII. a view of the inside of Cleve Church;—which serves very much to illustrate the manner in which *pointed Arches* have been, in later ages, reared upon some of the antient *Saxon* Pillars.—And in his Pl. LIX, is a south-west view of the outside, shewing both its *Saxon* Arches, and its more modern *pointed* Norman Windows.

each Arch, in the whole periphery, having only three large indentations, in the form of isosceles triangles.—These are carefully represented Pl. LIV. Fig. 1.

As the attending to the manner, in which modern *pointed Arches* have often, on rebuilding, and repairing Churches, been placed on antient *Saxon Pillars*, may tend to remove several difficulties, that have occurred to some observers, it may be worth while to pursue this enquiry, a little further.

We find in other places, modern Arches, placed on old *Saxon Pillars*; as for instance, at *Seaford* in *Sussex*;—and at *Folkstone* in *Kent*:—and even upon *Saxon Pillars*;—or at least upon such as were coeval with, and imitations of *Saxon Pillars*;—as in that very antient Church of *Iona*, in the *Hebrides*.*

And the style of the Capitals of all these Pillars, may clearly be distinguished from *Norman Capitals*;—with which they have nevertheless often been confounded; from a mistaken idea, that none were truly *Saxon*, but Pillars with such Capitals as those in *Grymbald's Crypt*, of *St. Peter's Church* at *Oxford*.

Many more truly *Saxon Capitals*, and Pillars, are unquestionably still remaining in *England*, than the curious have been at all properly aware of.†

At *St. John's Church*, in *Chester*, which was built originally by *King Etheldred* in 689, and was for many ages the *Cathedral*, are

* See a representation of these Pillars in *Pennant's Voyage*, p. 253, Pl. XXIII.

† Amongst these may be mentioned, *Avington Church*, and *Shillingsford Church*, (where the same sort of difference, in the ornaments, at the ends, or bearings of a mural Arch, as at *Barfreston* in *Kent*, may be seen);—*Aldermaston Church*;—*Sparsholt Church*, (where a new moulding, different from any that I have given, may be seen);—*Tidmarsh Church*, (where still somewhat more different mouldings may be traced);—*Bucklebury Church*;—*Thatcham Church*;—*Padworth Church*;—all in *Berkshire*:—the curious varieties of whose Pillars, and Arches, may be seen delineated in *Mr. Lysons's Magna Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 204, 205.—In the course of which Elaborate Work, I am persuaded, many more specimens will be brought to light hereafter, that will tend to confirm all that has been advanced in these pages.

The Churches also of *Stewkley*;—and *Water Stratford*, in *Buckinghamshire*;—the architecture of whose remains is, in like manner, given by *Mr. Lysons*, in the *Magna Britannia*, Vol. I. p. 486, tend equally to prove this fact.

most massy columns; which notwithstanding the subsequent re-edifications of that antient structure, still remain curious specimens of the clumsy strength of *Saxon* architecture.*

And at *Great Malvern*, in *Worcestershire*, although the greater part of the Church is only of the age of *Henry the VIth*, and *VIIth*,—yet, in the nave, are found truly original *Saxon* Pillars, with Capitals very much resembling those at *Tewkesbury*.—A circumstance that may easily be accounted for, when we recollect, that a Religious House existed here, in the earliest times, which received additional endowments, from *Edward the Confessor*, as having been an establishment of prior existence; and was at last made a *Benedictine Priory*, in 1083, by the conversion of *Aldwin*, its then chief, to the rules of that Order; who also began to rebuild the Church anew.†

There is in this Church at *Malvern*, moreover, a very curious *Saxon figure* in stone;‡ almost the only sepulchral one I know of in *England*: which further confirms the idea of its high antiquity.

Nevertheless it must be allowed to be true, that as modern *pointed Arches* are, in several instances, found to be now placed on antient originally *Saxon Pillars*; so also modern *pointed Arches* are, in some instances, found placed, even on such Pillars as were, though indeed much more antient than the *Arches* themselves, yet nevertheless originally equally *Norman*.

Of this there seems to be an obvious instance, at *Battle* in *Sussex*;—where, in the antient Church, are found Pillars that cannot be of a later date, at most, than *just after the Conquest*; but which now have *pointed Arches* placed upon them, that cannot be of an earlier age than that of *Henry the Third*.

Two of these are slightly sketched, Pl. XXXVIII. Fig. 2.

To return to the Church at *Cleve*: as the antient part of it seems to have been, with regard to its age, about the time of *King Edgar*,

* See *Pennant's Tour*, Vol. II. p. 3.

† This seems to be the real substance of all the accounts that are extant put together.—*Dugdale*, beginning his account of it, only as a Monastery, from the first establishment of the *Benedictines*.—See the *Monasticon*, p. 366;—*Stevens' Additions*, Vol. I. p. 46, 217.—*Tan.* p. 621; and *Gough's Camden*, Vol. II. p. 363; and *Grose*, Vol. VI.

‡ Of this figure there is a representation in this Volume, Pl. III. Fig. 2, p. 80.

or a little after; so here we find *Towers*, that formed a part of the original Building; and which appear to be *Saxon*.

The upper part of one of these, in the front of the Building, is that whereon are carved the Arches, *with only three long indentations each*, so peculiarly curious; which have already been just mentioned, and which are represented Pl. LIV. Fig. 1.

The accurate Mr. Bentham has very justly observed, that Towers, and great Bells, seem to have been first introduced into this country, in the reign of King *Edgar*.

There are, he says, some traces of the use of Bells to be discovered in our Monasteries, even in the seventh century.* But larger ones, such as required distinct buildings for their support, do not appear to have been in use among us, till the tenth century; about the middle of which, we find several of our Churches were furnished with them, by the munificence of our Kings.†

It will easily be recollected, by the curious, that the Church at *Ramsey Abbey*, in Huntingdonshire, built in 974, had a Tower in the west front, as well as one in the intersection of the Cross:‡—and therefore a fuller conviction will arise in the mind, of the real *Saxon* origin of these, at the west end of the Church at Cleve.

The *Saxon* Tower at *Winburne*, in Dorsetshire, has been already mentioned.§—The *Saxon* Towers at *St. Albans*, and at *Tewkesbury*, with their Norman alterations, have been already referred to;||—and original *Saxon* Towers, with ornaments greatly diversified, are to be met with in various places.

Amongst these, in the very first instance, deserves to be mentioned that of *St. Clement's Church*, at *Sandwich* in Kent: in a part of the country, where, on account of its vicinity to the Metropolitan Cathedral, we might most reasonably expect to meet with the very oldest of these structures.—And such this Tower is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been.

* Bentham's *Ely*, p. 29.—See also Bede Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.

† Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. I. p. 40.—Matt. West. ad annum 946.—Hist. *Ramesien*, cap. 22.

‡ Ibid. cap. 20.

§ See p. 137, Pl. XIX. in this Volume.

|| See p. 132, Pl. XVII. Fig. 1;—and p. 141 Pl. XVII. Fig. 2, in this Volume.

There is an exceeding good representation both of it, and of its particular ornaments, in Mr. Boys's History of Sandwich.*

It stands in the middle of the Church, and is square: being supported on four circular Saxon Arches, standing on as many substantial Piers.—In the upper part, it is ornamented, on each side externally, with three tiers of Pillars, and circular Arches, that are in every point most completely *Saxon*.—One of these ranges has only six Arches, and another only seven; but one has nine.—And as there is this sort of studied *dissimilarity*, in the *number* of the Arches in each range, so also is there, in the dimensions of the Arches themselves:—for those even in the same range are of very different diameters—and yet the whole together produces artificially a very fine effect.

The Capitals also of the Pillars, which adorn the great Piers within the Church, have strangely *varied*, fantastick, yet elegant ornaments;—in the true *Saxon* manner.—And the door that leads up to the Belfry, by a staircase adjoining to one of the Piers, has its Arch filled up, and, as it were, supported by a transom stone, in the true *Saxon style*;—whilst this stone itself is ornamented, in its front, with odd simple allegorical figures, and devices; and the Arch of the Belfry has nothing but what appears to be most truly *Saxon* in its whole composition.

Yet the Tower itself appears as if built of Norman, or Caen stone—a most curious circumstance:—but a circumstance which, instead of indicating to us that this is any *Norman structure*, contrary to the whole apparent style of its architecture; only seems plainly to indicate, that there was commerce with Normandy, (as we indeed know there actually was) *before* the Conquest;—and that *Norman, Caen stone* was sometimes imported for *Saxon* Buildings:—as it is also certain, that stones, from quarries in this Island, were so cut into small blocks, of the same size of *Caen stone*, as to be mistaken for it by hasty observers.†

There is another curious *Saxon* Tower, of a Church at *Dover*,

* P. 285.

† Instances of this are mentioned, in the preceding third Volume of this Work, p. 31, 47, 150, 155, 221.

unquestionably of an early age; but ornamented in a style somewhat different from that at *Sandwich*: the Arches, with which the external walls are adorned, having their Pilasters higher, and being narrower.

A third of the earliest *Saxon Towers*, deserves also to be mentioned; (whilst we are considering this beautiful part of Religious Structures, introduced into common use in the reign of King *Edgar*;) because its ornaments are still again varied from the former; and because it is built of a *round* form, instead of being square.

This is found at Little *Saxham* in Suffolk, in the neighbourhood of the antient Monastery of Bury St. Edmund's, well known to have been first built by King *Canute*:* and where, therefore, as well as in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, we may most reasonably expect to meet with antient *Saxon Structures*.

It is represented in the subsequent part of this Volume; Pl. LIV. No. 2, where it is also referred to, on another account.—Being of a *round form*, it was supposed, by Sir James Burrough, to be *Danish*.†—But if it were so, the difference is very little from perfect *Saxon*:—since still it was in truth, only *Saxon Architecture* adopted by the *Danes*;‡ after the reign of their first great Monarch in this island;—whose beautiful square *Saxon Tower*, built by his *Saxon* artists, opposite to the west front of *Bury Abbey*, is well known; and still in tolerable preservation; together with the numerous Arches and Pillars, with which its walls are adorned on the outside;—and with the remarkable circumstance of having a flatter inner Arch, somewhat like a transom stone, supporting the uppermost large Arch of the Gateway.§

Another such *round Saxon Tower*, is at *Witlingham Church*,|| near Trowse, in Norfolk: only its top has been raised in height,

* Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 81.

† In Brit. nov. et antiq. Suff.

‡ There is a very good account and representation of it by Sir John Cullum, in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. II. p. 237.

§ There is an engraved representation of this Tower, inserted in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. III. p. 1. from an old drawing.—And such a sort of *inner flat Saxon Arches*, may be seen, represented, in the preceding pages of the *Munimenta*, Vol. III. p. 254, Fig. 2 and 3.

|| There is a tolerable view of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1795, p. 457.

and repaired; evidently after having long remained broken down.

Having endeavoured to bring all these different kinds of *Saxon Towers*, as it were into one point of view, on occasion of mentioning the introduction of *Towers* into common use, in the buildings of Churches, in the time of *Edgar*; which was effected, probably, by the advice, and example, of Archbishop *Dunstan*, (who, with all his faults, seems to have had skill, both in Architecture, and Drawing, and in other ingenious works of art, far beyond most of his contemporaries,) it may not be amiss to bestow a little degree of attention, in this place, upon a few very uncommon instances of *Saxon sculpture*, which do not seem to have been noticed in the manner they deserve.

Two of these are represented, Pl. III.—The one; a little bass relief, amongst the numerous odd ornaments, on the Door-way at *Barfreston Church*, in Kent.—The other; a cumbent figure, in somewhat more than alto relievo, at *Malvern*, in Worcester-shire;—and if it is to be deemed a really cumbent figure, almost the only *Saxon* one I know of; unless one of those at *York Minster* is to be reckoned of the same kind: which is perhaps the best account that can be given of it.

Both these represent warriors:—the one mounted;—and the other armed, as for marching on foot;—and they both afford us very fair, though rude, representations of the *Saxon dress*.

As to the first, which is pretty faithfully copied, with all its *disproportions*, Pl. III. Fig. 1; it has already been taken notice of in the account of *Barfreston Church*,* and compared with one at *Canterbury Cathedral*.

We find in this little piece of sculpture, the conical helmet, *without any vizor*; which was so peculiar to the Anglo Saxons:—the spear; which was even deemed so essential a part of the common dress of an Anglo Saxon Thane, that he never stirred abroad without it:† the saddle *without the crupper*; in which

* See p. 73 in this Volume.

† In consequence of this usage, there were even laws to prevent their wearing their spears carelessly. See Wilkins *Leges Saxon*, p. 42.

circumstance the *Saxons* differed so precisely from the *Normans*:—and the stirrups, by which *the Thane* was distinguished from his inferiors.

The second figure, Pl. III. Fig. 2, has often been considered, by mistake, as representing a *Norman Chieftain*, merely because it has, for many years, been placed upon a Tomb belonging (as appears from some arms on tiles beneath) to the family of the *Corbets*, in the Church of Great Malvern: but the whole garb of the figure shews that to have been impossible.

The long surcoat, or *mantle*, reaching down quite to the feet;—the peculiar form of the battle axe;—the no less peculiar form of the round shield, found here, instead of either the heater shield, or target;—and even the kind of broad-sword,* with the point so different both from the *British*, and *Norman* swords; do all indicate, what was *peculiarly Saxon*†.

There is also a great singularity in the mode of sculpture:—for the figure is *so flat*, that it is rather a mere sort of alto relievo, than a cumbent statue.

It has been called a Knight Templar's Tomb:—but it has no one circumstance to distinguish it, as being in that class.—It is well known that the figures on *such* as truly deserve that denomination, have almost always either *the heater shield*, or the *target*; and are usually placed lying on one side; or at least *cross-legged*;—and with a dress, and equipment, in the whole far different from this; though they have indeed the hawberk.

There is every reason, therefore, to believe, that this figure, (which is moreover on a long flat stone, that does not at all *fit* the

* The advantage of this sort of sword is well described by Hume, Vol. I. p. 17.

† There are already two engravings of this figure; one in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. III. p. 192; and one in the Addenda, at the end of Mr. *Grose's* sixth Volume of *Antiquities*, Pl. IV.—But both of them appear to me to be incorrect; and to convey erroneous ideas. The first has neither the shield rightly represented; nor the hawberk; nor the mantle; nor the sword.—And the latter, though it delineates all these particulars in a better manner, yet has the hands and arms too long; and has given the whole the appearance as if the legs were broken off near the knees; whereas any one who views the figure fairly, will perceive, that they are broken off close to the feet.—In the *Repertory* indeed some tolerable idea of the peculiar flatness of the figure is given; but that is all.

top of the tomb whereon it is placed,) was at some time or other taken from the old *Saxon* part of the Church, and placed where it now is, on a Tomb of the *Corbets*, without any real or proper connection, either with that family, or with that tomb.

The figure at *York*, both as to its present situation, and appearance, is very much of the same sort;* except that it is not in armour.—The whole garb evidently represents that of a Layman of high rank; and not that of an Ecclesiastick. The appearance of a rich gem above the breast, and of a lion's tail falling over the vestment, shew this; as do also the sleeves of the garment; which are made close to the arm.—The great length of this garment, quite down to the feet, and its whole stile, is surely *Saxon*; whilst the appearance of the hair, and beard, is as manifestly neither *Roman*, nor *British*; though the figure has sometimes been mistaken for a Roman figure.

It is well known that *York*, from its great dignity, in the very earliest ages, was a place, where, if any such works of *Saxon* art ever existed at all in this country, remains of them might most reasonably be expected to be met with.—Here the Emperour *Severus* died; and from hence his ashes were conveyed, in a precious urn, to Rome.—Here also *Constantine Chlorus* died:—and here his Son *Constantine the Great* was declared Emperor; in whose time the Empire first became Christian.—Here *Edwin*, King of Northumberland, first reared a temporary wooden tent, A. D. 627,† in which he was baptized; and afterwards began a Church of stone, which was finished by King *Oswald*,‡ on the spot where the present Cathedral (begun A. D. 1171) was afterwards built.—At *York*, *Geoffry of Monmouth* says, several British Kings and Princes were buried.—And Venerable *Bede* affirms,§ that the head of King *Edwin* was interred in the Cathedral here; and also the remains of *Ethelm*, and *Etheldrida*, his children.—Besides these, here were deposited the remains of *Eadbert*, King of Northumberland, A. D. 767; and of *Egbert*, his Brother;

* There is a representation of it in *Dart's History*, p. 97.

† *Dugdale*, Vol. III. p. 128.

‡ *Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 8.*

§ *Ib. lib. ii. ca. 20.*

and of King *Eanbald*, A. D. 797.—And to this Church, soon after the death of Canute, in 1036, the great northern Danish Chieftain, *Ulphus*, gave his celebrated horn, as the token of delivering up all his lands, and estates; and of his enfeoffing and investing the Church with them.*

It ought by no means therefore to be deemed a matter of astonishment, that at *York* should be still found a *Saxon figure*; which may very well be believed to have been removed from the old *Saxon Church*.

There is said, also, to have been a figure of *Ailwin*, deemed one of the oldest in this country, existing amongst the ruins of *Ramsey Abbey*, in *Huntingdonshire*; which was founded by him in the year 969.—It lay on his Tomb, and represented him holding two keys, and a ragged staff, as badges of his high office under King *Edgar*.—Whether it really was a piece of *Saxon* sculpture I will not presume to affirm, having never seen it.—But it is by no means improbable, as it has constantly been spoken of as being such.—And the existence of the inscription, mentioned by *Camden*,† as being on the Tomb, whereon the figure was placed, does rather confirm the fact, since that inscription itself may very fairly be allowed to have been of a much later date than this antient piece of sculpture, intended to be explained by it.

Those who could carve so many neat devices, as are found on so many of their door-ways, and arches, could not be at a loss to cut a figure in stone, on such occasions as they thought proper, though the common introduction of *such*, to be placed on tombs, was not the fashion of the times.

A very antient figure, in the Church of *Boseham* in *Sussex*, is said to be that of *Canute's Daughter*.

The Tomb, on which it *now* lies, has indeed pointed Arches; both on its side, and over it; and certainly is of a very modern date, in comparison of the time of *Canute*.—But the whole stile of the figure (whatever its real age be) shews it manifestly to have

* See a very curious dissertation on this subject, by Mr. Gale, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 163.

† *Camden*, Vol. II. p. 154.

been of much higher antiquity than either the Tomb itself, or the Wall against which it is placed; and has a sort of rudeness, and simplicity in the sculpture, much resembling those at *York*, and *Malvern*.—And when we recollect that *here* was, in the first Saxon ages, a small Monastery;* and afterwards a Church, so considerable as to be represented in the *Bayeux Tapestry*;† it is not at all improbable, but that from some part of such antient Saxon Church, this figure might be removed: as that at *Malvern* was from the former Saxon part of the Church at that place.

Nor are we without instances of the Saxons having had some sort of ornaments of other kinds upon their Tombs:—for according to the account of the antient Historian *Eadmer*, there was the form of a Pyramid, of great height, placed over the grave of *Dunstan*.‡

Amongst the remains of their ornamented pillars; before we proceed further in our enquiries, those of the old Chapel, at *Orford* in *Suffolk*, deserve just to be named.—And the rather because they were so near one of the places of residence of *Anna*, King of the East Angles.§

This Chapel is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been originally a separate, and distinct *small* Building, long prior to the Church, though it was afterwards made use of as the Chancel to that Structure; from whence it is now again separated, on account of its having fallen into decay.—Both its Founder, and the precise date of its construction, are quite unknown.—But as it is unquestionably allowed to have been one of the first of those Buildings erected by the antient Lords of Manors, for the sake of promoting the cause of religion, and for bringing men to a knowledge of the Gospel; so there is every reason to believe, both from the *smallness* of the Structure, and from the peculiar style, and *diligently varied* ornaments of its Architecture, that it was one of those very early ones, built in compliance with the admonitions of Archbishop *Theodore*.

* Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. ca. 13.

† Antiquitez de la Couronne de France, Tom. I. Pl. XXXVIII.

‡ See also Dart's Canterbury, p. 3.

§ See in the preceding third Volume of this Work, p. 151.

It has a double row of thick columns, supporting circular Arches. The height of the columns being not more than twelve feet; barely equal to their circumference.—Their surfaces are ornamented in various manners with carvings, sharp and well finished.—And even the opposite ones are not alike.—Some having a small cylindrical moulding, twisting spirally round them;—some being crossed lozenge fashion, so as to appear covered with an embossed reticulated net-work;—and others, which are square, having small columns at each of their angles.*

The Arches are, also, on their insides, decorated with zigzag, or indented ornaments.

That exceeding curious Structure, which once existed at *Hereford*, deserves, in like manner, to be mentioned.—It is much to be lamented, that it was pulled down, in the time of Bishop Egerton. The Dean's name, if he concurred in the deed, is well forgotten.

It was built entirely of stone, and roofed with stone:—it was

* There is a drawing of this Chapel, in the third Volume of Grose's Antiquities;—there are also representations of some of the pillars separately, on a larger scale, in the Addenda to the sixth Volume, p. 22, No. 2; and there are very good representations of some of them, by Mr. Wilkins, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XII. p. 167, Pl. XXIX. XXX.

Amongst Mr. Grose's representations, two are delineated, whose undulated capitals, are not very unlike those at *Ewenny*, which have already been referred to, in the preceding pages, Pl. XXIX. No. 2;—as indeed the proportions, of all the Pillars themselves, are very similar to those at *Ewenny*.

In the same Plate, of Mr. Grose's Antiquities, are also delineated some of the same sort of Pillars, only with different ornaments, found remaining at *Lindisfarne*, in Northumberland;—where it is well known a Church of Stone was built, very soon after the original one of wood had been consecrated by Archbishop *Theodore*;†—and where indeed the Gospel had been first preached, in Northumberland, by *Aidwin*, a truly good man; whose apostolical simplicity of life, and manners, corresponded exceedingly with the life and manners of Bernard Gilpin who, in much later days, was called the Apostle of the North.‡

At *Lindisfarne* therefore, might very well be expected, to be found a Church, corresponding in its style of Architecture with others of the age of *Theodore*.

And I ought to add, that at *Lindisfarne* was found, as far as we know, one of the first instances of the introduction of the use of lead, for the covering of the roofs of Churches, in this Island, about A. D. 652.§

† Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. ca. 24.

‡ See his Life, admirably written by William Gilpin.

§ Bedæ Hist. lib. iii. ca. 25.

only about forty feet square within ; supported in the midst by four pillars.—It consisted of two Chapels, one above the other.—The four pillars in the midst, with arches extending every way, formed the support.—In front, towards the west, it had a Portico of *Saxon* round Arches, retreating backwards, one within, and behind, and below another, nineteen feet and a half deep ; forming a most extraordinary Archivault over head ;—which very likely gave the idea to the construction afterwards of *Fitzhamon's* great Portico, and high, and lofty Archivault, at *Tewkesbury* : * though this at Hereford was very low, being not above twelve feet high.—The Pillars against the walls, were some of them of single stones ;—and in their form manifested a close imitation of the style of Architecture, that prevailed on the declension of the Roman Empire ;—whilst the windows, on the outside, bore a manifest resemblance to those at *Shoreham*, and at *St. Albans*. †

Having mentioned, and referred to so many specimens of the first, and very early *Saxon* style of constructing Religious Buildings ; it is now time to turn, with more particular attention, to the peculiar improvements of Ecclesiastical Architecture, made in the reigns of *Alfred*, and *Edgar*.

King *Alfred*, one of the greatest of men, after a long struggle, in which he endured the deepest depressions with patience, and surmounted almost invincible obstacles, having restored peace, and prosperity, to his afflicted country, which had for so many years been plundered, and desolated, by the marauding Danes,—found most of the *Religious Houses* burnt, and destroyed ;—the religious persons themselves, that were on the first old Establishment, in general murdered ;—and others, both afraid, and unwilling, to enter into such sort of sequestered life ; instead of being eager to embrace it, as at the first.—Hence ingenuity languished ; the efforts of acquired skill, that had begun to take place, were obliterated ; and universal ignorance prevailed in the land ;

* Described and represented in this Volume, p. 138, and Pl. XX.

† There is a plan, and an elevation, shewing what this remain was, in Gough's Additions to Camden, Vol. II. p. 452, Pl. XIV.—See also Stukeley's Itin. Cur. Vol. I. p. 68. And the Monumenta Vetusta, Vol. I. Pl. XLIX.

instead of such cultivation of arts; and of dawning science, as had at first distinguished these abodes.—To remedy this evil, he availed himself of the benefit of his former travels; and of his acquaintance with learned men abroad; as well as of that improvement of mind, which himself had so diligently laboured to obtain, in his days of adversity.—He brought over from France, and Italy, (with promises of encouragement,) men of the most distinguished abilities in learning; and of experience* in curious arts.—And it is only to be lamented, that as some of the most considerable of these *were Monks*, following those rigid rules which had been introduced abroad, they became even the very means of introducing, and establishing, in the English Church, the most superstitious part of *monastick* discipline, whilst they revived learning, and Science.

Amongst these were *Neoth*, an able scholastic Divine, (who was afterwards known by the name of *St. Neot*);—*Grimbald*, an eloquent Preacher, and able Architect;—*Asser*, a Grammarian, and Rhetorician;—*John*, a Musician, Arithmetician, and Logician;—and another *John*, a Geometrician and Astronomer.

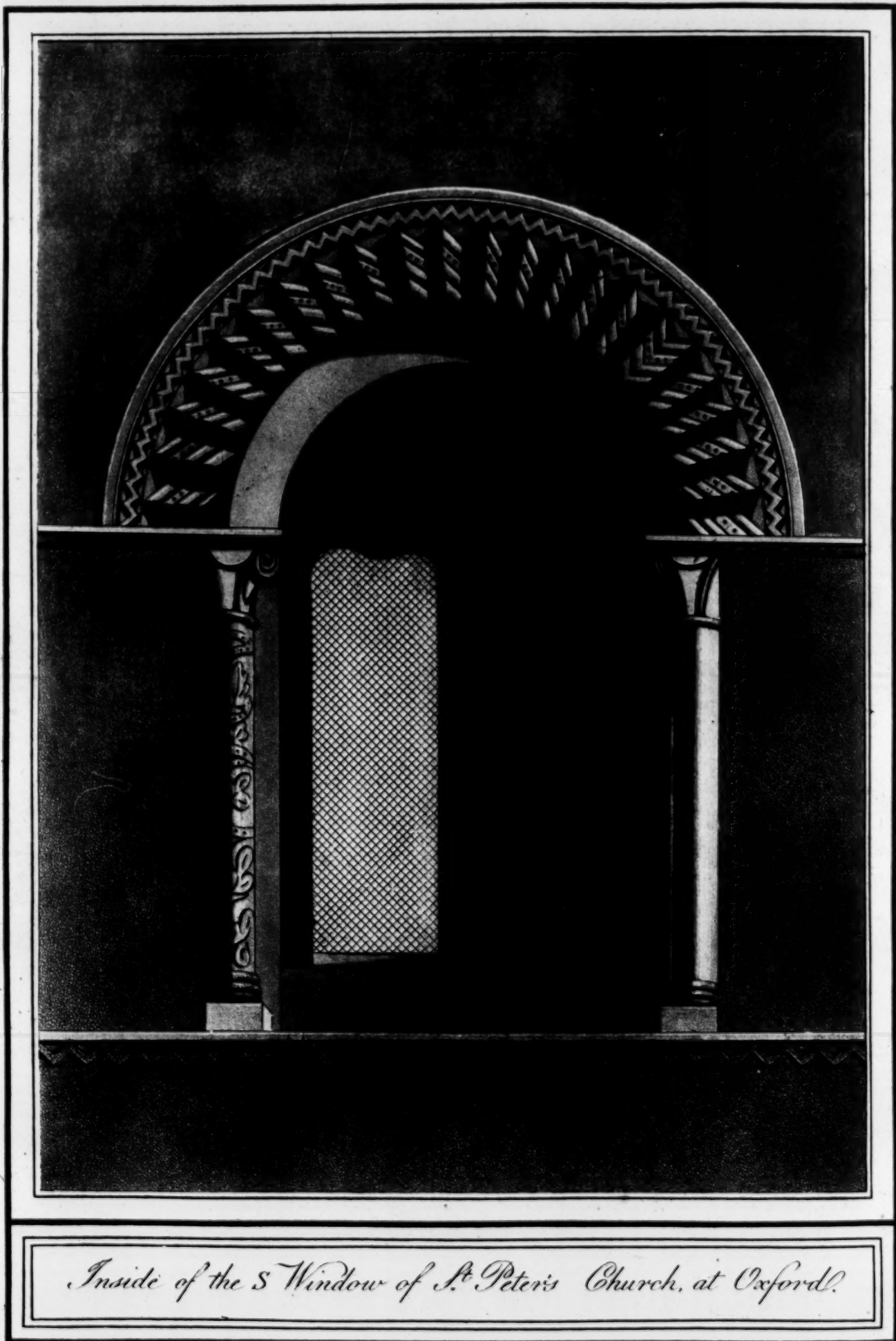
These laboured to revive science;—and in a more particular manner at Oxford.—And *Grimbald* above all the rest.—But the new regulations he introduced (most probably in consequence of his *monastick* prejudices) gave such offence, that the old Scholars of Oxford unanimously refused to comply with his new institutions;—and after the most earnest endeavours, on *Alfred's* part, to reconcile the difference, it still continued to such a degree, that at last *Grimbald* retired, with disgust, to Winchester.†

Whilst he continued however at Oxford, *Grimbald*, exercising his skill in Architecture, had both built a Church of stone, about A. D. 886; and had placed, in a Vault underneath it, a stone Sepulchre, wherein he intended his body should be deposited.—And, when he removed to *Winchester*, he caused this Tomb to be removed with him, a circumstance which clearly shews what

* Asserius Vita Elfridi, p. 18.

† See the Old Annals of Winchester, as cited by Camden, p. 287, Vol. I. Gough's edition.





sort of prejudices, and ideas, were beginning to preponderate in his mind.

The Old Annals of *Winchester* assert, that the whole Church of St. Peter's, was built from the ground, by *Grimbald*, of stone, polished in the most costly manner.—But it has been too generally supposed, that no part of that Church, except the Crypt, now remains.—This however we shall, on a careful examination of the structure itself, find to have been an error:—and that, on the contrary, there is every reason to believe, that very nearly the whole of it remains entire, saving that there have been some modern windows inserted:—and that the fact, with regard to the present Church now at *Oxford*, is just as it was at *Oxford* in *Suffolk*;—namely, that what is now *entirely the Chancel*, was indeed the whole of the original Church; and still retains very nearly its primitive appearance.

The Crypt, or vault underneath, is represented, in two plates, in the *Archæologia*,* where are inserted both a plan, and a view of the inside; and a delineation of some of the grotesque Saxon Capitals.

But in the Chancel above, also, we discover a style of Architecture hitherto much unnoticed; which, though it be indeed far more finished, and refined, than that in the Crypt beneath, is yet very much unlike any thing that we can, in any instance, ascertain to be *Norman*.

It plainly manifests a degree of elegance, beyond the prior *Saxon* Architecture;—and a closer imitation of *Roman* designs; united nevertheless with the *Saxon* peculiarities, that were before *Alfred's* time in fashion;—and is just what we might expect, from the improved taste and skill of *Grimbald*, or of *Alfred* himself, submitting to the prevailing prejudices of the age.

Pl. XXXIX. represents the inside of the South Window of this Building,—where the nice studied *variation* of the capitals of the side pillars, and even of their shafts, is particularly marked:—and also the rich projection of the indented ornament of the

* Vol. I. p. 151. There is also a view of the appearance of the whole Church, with the additional modern parts.

Arch, so different from the common zigzag of the Normans.—The smallness also of the window itself, and especially of the part for admitting light, shews a *Saxon* peculiarity, that can neither be compared with the windows of William the Conqueror's time, nor with the lancet windows of Stephen; nor with those of any succeeding age; any more than with the rudeness of the windows prior to the time of *Alfred*.—And the manner in which the pillars stand within the limits of the Arch, is also peculiarly *Saxon*.

The same sort of marks of distinction appear also on the outside of the window; which is represented very precisely, Pl. XL. Fig. 1.

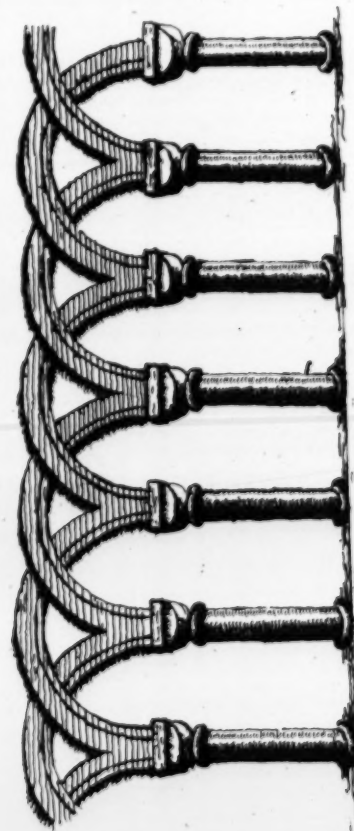
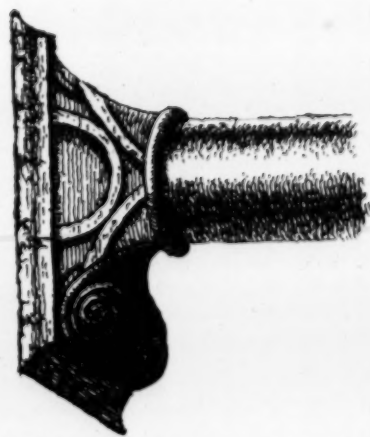
And near the top of this wall, high over the window, on the outside, is a very remarkable kind of band, or freeze, running along the whole length of the Chancel, that seems to be *Saxon*.

It is an ornament somewhat like the *Corbel-table*; and has different devices supporting every bracket, or corbel;—as horses, (well known to be used as *Saxon* devices);—unicorns;—distorted heads;—and preposterous figures.—But it ought to be remarked, that the whole of this antient freeze is now surmounted with an open battlement of rose-work, which is plainly of a much later age;—as there is also a window of a much later age inserted on the same side of the wall, nearer to the body of the Church.

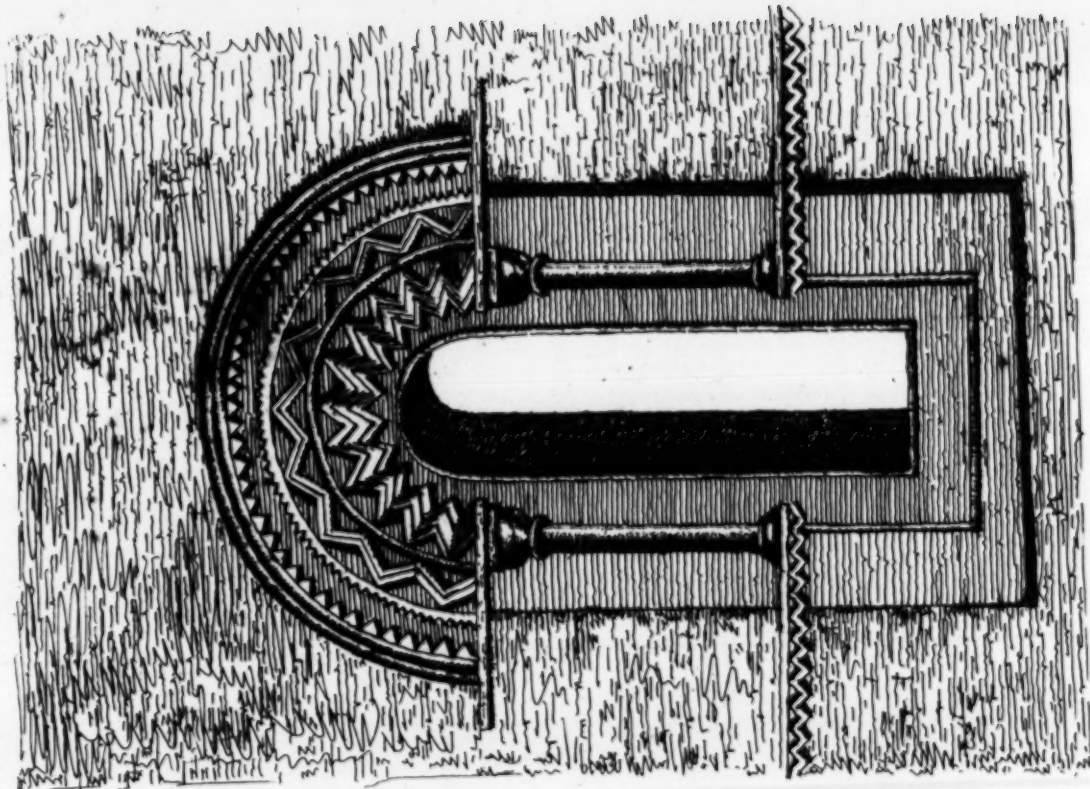
The stone vaulting, however, of the Chancel within, appears obviously to be as antient as the old *Saxon* south window. It is neither composed of pointed arches, nor in any part of its construction similar to the vaulting of the Normans. It is low, and semicircular, and has great diagonal groined arches, intersecting each other in the middle of the vaulting over-head, and supported by Pillars of *varied* construction.

Amongst these, is found one, Fig. 2, Pl. XL, most remarkable for the odd effect, which the appearance of the *double* return of the scroll of the Capital produces.—It seems to be a closer imitation of an *Ionick* column, than any found in *Norman* times;—and yet, consistently with *Saxon* ideas, a strange deviation from the proportions, and pattern of that order.

F:2

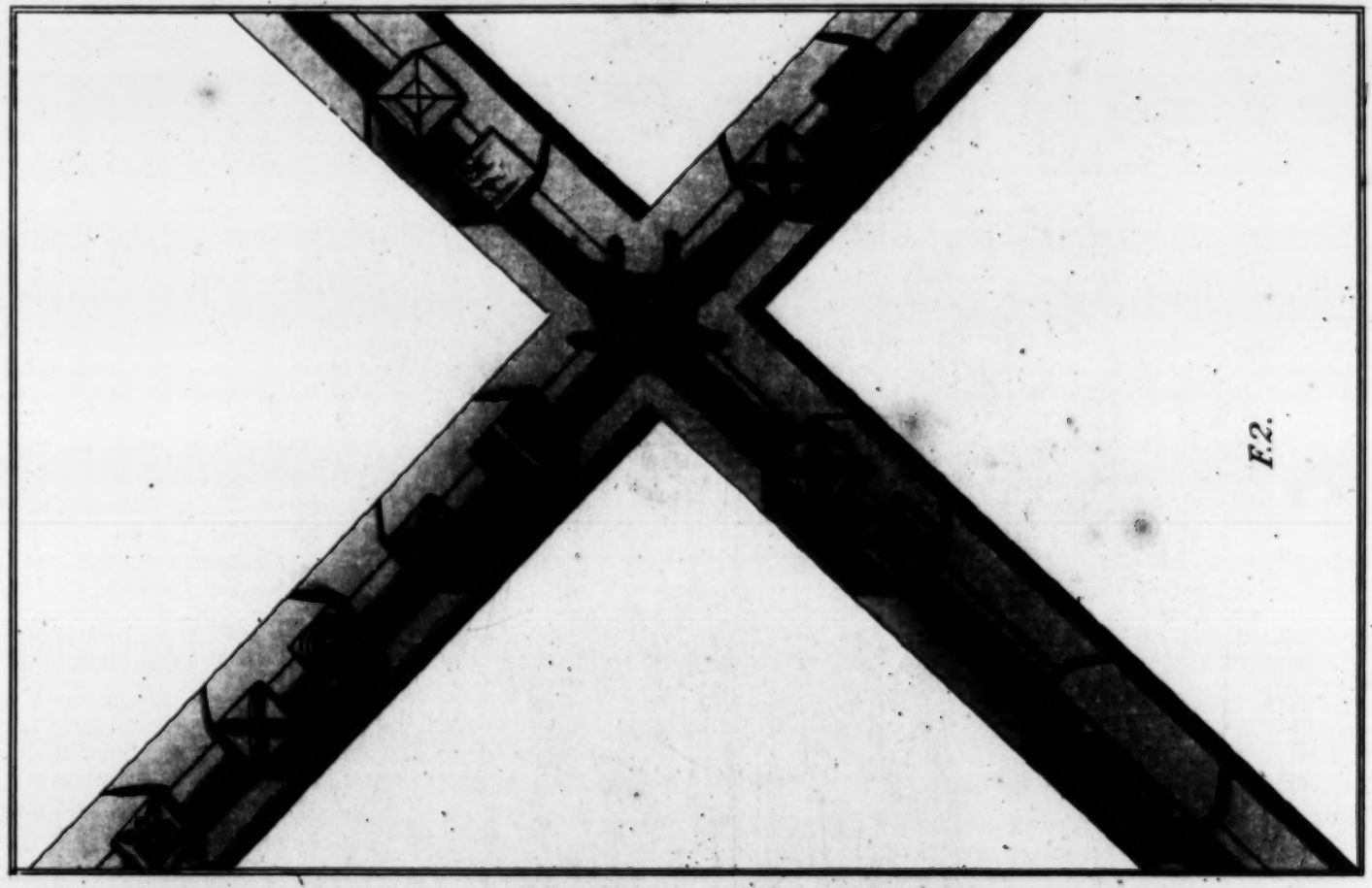
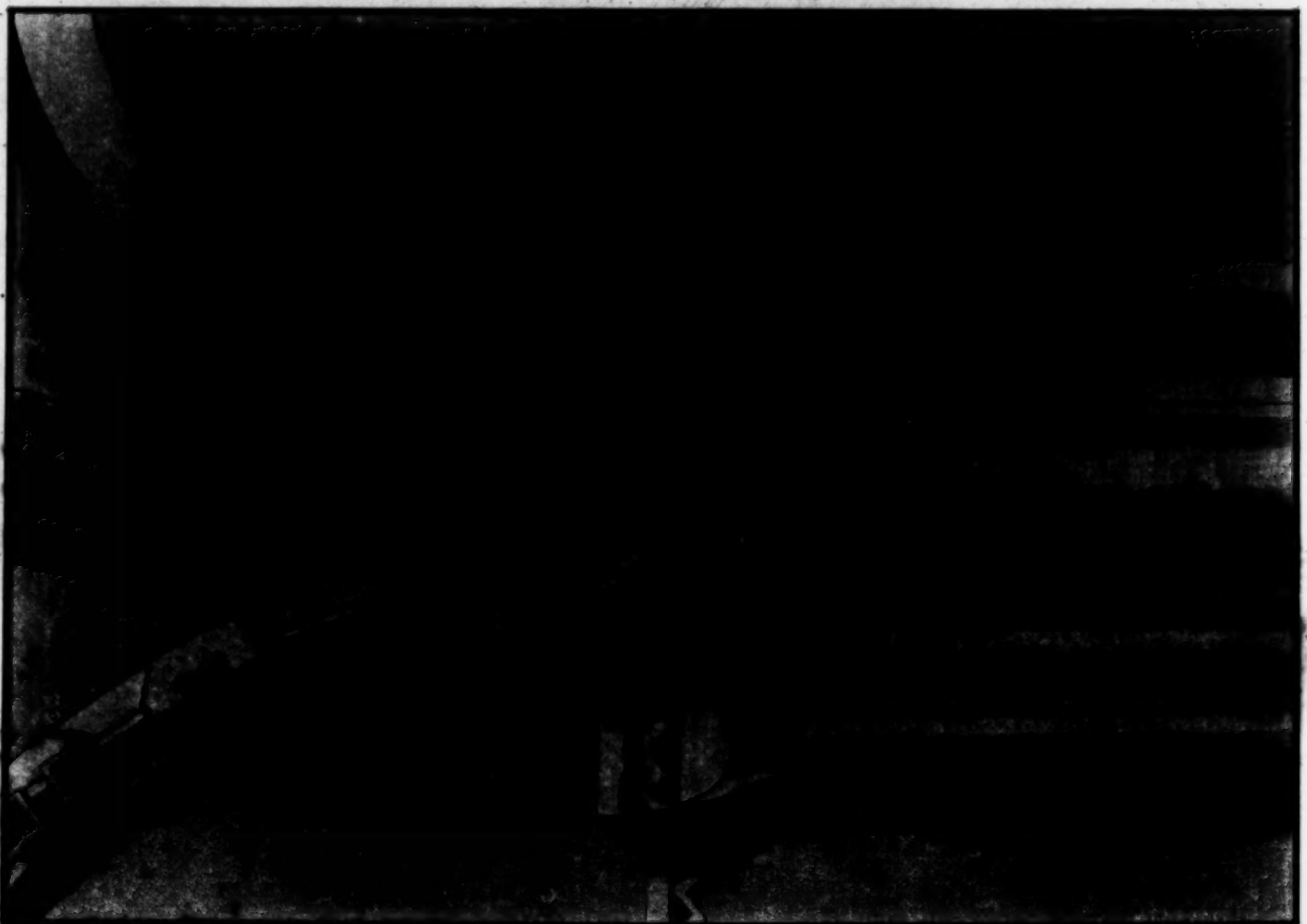


F:3



F:1

Outside of the South Window of the Church of St. Peter at Oxford

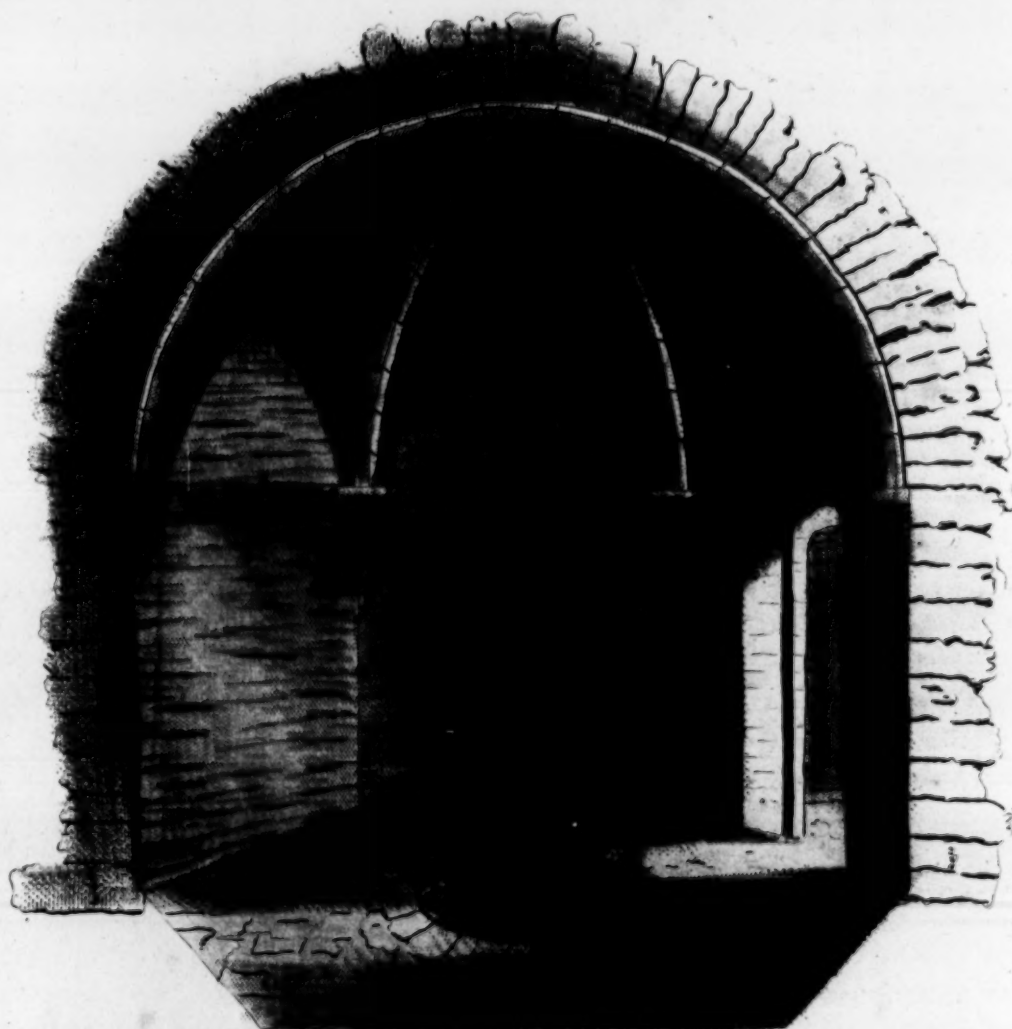


J.C. Stodder sculp.

Pillars supporting the Vaulting of the Chancel of St Peter's at Oxford, and Ornaments of its intersecting Arches.



F. 1.



F. 2.



Well Room, & Crypt, in Oxford Castle.

D. Harris, del.

L. Richardson, & Son, sculp.

Another Pillar, with the whole cluster of columns adjacent, supporting the arches of the roof, and particularly one of the diagonal intersecting groined arches, is shewn, Fig. 1, Pl. XLI. where the latter is seen on the left-hand, with the peculiar ornaments somewhat like shields upon it.

And here again we perceive devices peculiarly *Saxon*.—For these ornaments are by no means *heater* shields; or indeed any regular shields at all, bearing coats of arms, like any thing *Norman*; but are merely just such as they are represented Pl. XLI. Fig. 2;—where the groining, and parts near to the intersection of these great diagonal arches, or ribs, in the very middle of the vaulting over head, is shewn on a larger scale.—And even in the few contained in this small portion, the *studied variety* of the design is most conspicuous.

It needs only to be added, concerning this curious structure; that on its wall, on the left side of the south window, are found some of those little pillars, or rather round pilasters, and *intersecting arches*, which have been mentioned as existing in the Porch at *Cleeve*, and in several other *Saxon* Buildings, before they were introduced into so common use in the time of Henry the First.

Having described the remains of this Church of *Alfred's*, it may be somewhat curious, before we proceed further, to compare the style of its Architecture, with that of a still more antient Remain, the *Crypt of a Saxon Chapel*,* that was discovered in *Oxford Castle*; where there is the utmost reason to believe *King Alfred* actually

* This Crypt was discovered about the years 1794, or 1795:—and by the favour of the *Earl Harcourt*, I received a very exact drawing, and plan of it, from that very able and ingenious Architect, Mr. Harris of Oxford, who afterwards communicated to me the fullest information, both concerning it, and concerning the many very curious remains in Oxford Castle.—From these materials I composed an account of the *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, containing 30 folio pages, and five Plates, which was published in 1796, as a prelude to the *Munimenta Antiqua*; and in which the distinction between the original *Saxon*, and the subsequent great *Norman* Castle, is traced, and shewn as clearly as possible; together with some very curious circumstances relating to the history of the Castle:—but as nearly the whole of those traces are now almost entirely destroyed by the erection of the present vast Goal, and Penitentiary Cells, that account will not now be inserted in the subsequent Volume of the *Munimenta*; but only be barely referred to.—And therefore the view of the old *Saxon Crypt*, as also that of the *Norman Well Room*,

resided occasionally; but which, in its most antient part, unquestionably existed *prior* to his time.

This antient *Saxon Crypt* was at the distance of about seventy feet from the original *Saxon Keep Tower*, and was of the form so usually found in Saxon Churches, *semicircular at the east end*:—but it was no more than twenty feet long, even reaching to the extremity of that end; and twenty feet wide;—and was supported by four Pillars, which appear to be decidedly *Saxon*, of an age prior to that of *Grimbald*; and deserve well to be compared with those in *Grimbald's Crypt*, at *St. Peter's Church*, as shewn in the *Archæologia*.*

They have that neatness of work, found in *Saxon Buildings* about the year 700:—and a part of the ornaments of the Capitals consist of heads, with such *Saxon crowns* upon them, as are found represented upon some *Saxon coins*.

The diameter of the shaft of each Column, is one foot, eleven inches; or in one or two of the Pillars near two feet; whilst the height is only two feet seven inches.—The height of each Capital is however one foot three inches:—and notwithstanding these strange disproportions, and that the Pillar, exclusive of the plinth, and strange sort of abacus, or die, (or even architrave, as it

by way of contrast, which was under the great *Norman Keep*, upon the Mount of that Castle, is here inserted, for the sake of illustrating *Saxon Architecture*.

This *Saxon Crypt* is now in reality utterly destroyed:—for it was found necessary, in order to carry on the foundations of the extensive new buildings of Oxford Goal, both to *break down* this curious little vault; and also to disturb the whole of the foundations of *St. George's Church*, which in Norman times had been built over it, in lieu of the original little *Saxon Chapel*;—but Mr. Harris, in order to preserve somewhat of so interesting a Remain, first made the drawing (here engraved) before any part was taken down; and then replaced the four Pillars, in a modern Cellar, as near the very spot as was at all possible; and in the same relative situation; only this little Cellar, by means of the foundations of an adjoining *new round Tower*, has now the wall, at the east end, built *convex inwards*; instead of being as the eastern wall of the original Crypt was, *concave*; each Pillar, however, stands now removed only about one foot and an half from its pristine *Saxon situation*.—But the present vaulting, over head, is new.

In the *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, (p. 18), a plan of the whole, as it was originally; and of the antient *Saxon Keep Tower*; and of the relative situation of both, may be seen accurately delineated by Mr. Harris.

* *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 151, Tab. 1.

may in this instance be called), is only three feet, ten inches, yet the whole has even a pleasing effect to the eye.

The entire height from the ground, to the springing of each Arch, as it was in the original Crypt, (adding the thickness of the plynth, at bottom, and of the abacus, or die, at the top), was only about five feet; the Arch itself rose only two feet, six inches, and the rib of the Arch but six inches higher;—so that the height from the floor, even to the summit of each rough Arch of the stone vaulting, in the original Crypt, was no more than eight feet.

The ribs of the Arches, and the whole of the Pillars, were wrought neatly in free-stone:—and the groins were turned with a mixture of rough stone, and very hard burnt bricks, or rather tiles, nine inches square, and two inches thick; which manifestly shew a *Saxon* construction.—There were also many such bricks, which could not possibly be *Norman*, in the side walls of the original Crypt, as well as others of still more strange, and different dimensions, corresponding only with such as have been found, either in *British*, or in other of the most antient *Saxon* Buildings.

The whole of the Crypt, as it appeared in its original state, before the original vaulting was destroyed; and before the Pillars were removed, is shewn in Pl. XLII. No. 2.

And in the same Plate, No. 1, is a representation of the curious old Dungeon, or Well-room, under the great *Norman* Keep of this Castle, constructed several ages after the Building of this *Saxon* Crypt; and which may, on this occasion, well serve to contrast *Norman*, with *Saxon* Architecture.*

This horrible, though curious, little *Norman* Den, was in the centre of the great Keep, on the top of the Castle Mount.—It was excluded both from light, and fresh air,—and was of an hexagonal form, only twelve feet in diameter, and twelve feet high.—It was perfect when I saw it in 1795, and I believe is so still.—Its Arches are certainly semicircular, though, in conse-

* The more particular account of this Well-room; and all that relates to it, may be seen in *The Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, p. 7, 11, 12.—I believe the whole of this little vaulted Den still remains nearly as it was originally.

quence of their intersecting each other, in the centre, at the top, they at first, to an hasty observer, put on the appearance of being pointed.—They are very substantially built; and the ribs of each Arch, and the quoins at each angle, are wrought in free-stone, as is also the part about the door way.—In the midst of this little Vault, is a Well, four feet in diameter, and fifty-four feet in depth from the floor of the Room, which having been cleared out, about ten or twelve years ago, there was found a very fine spring of water, most remarkably cold.

The whole is a most curious Remain:—and *the Arches*, in this Well Room, deserve the more particularly to be contrasted with the *Arches* in the Crypt;—because, though this *Norman Vault* is so much smaller than the *Saxon Crypt*, there needs but the cast of an eye, to distinguish the apparently more magnificent style of the *Norman Architecture*, from the *Saxon*; any more than there does to distinguish the *early Saxon* style, from that of *Alfred's* days.

After such an introduction of an improved kind of *Saxon Architecture*, in *Oxford*, in the reign of *Alfred*, by *Grimbald*, as we have found in the instance of *St. Peter's Church*, it might reasonably be expected that we should, at *Oxford*, discover some other fine *Subsequent* specimens; and so indeed we soon do, in the antient Cathedral of *Christ Church*.

Both *Dugdale*,* and *Browne Willis*, seem to date the foundation of this Building, from its first Prior of Regulars, *Guimund*, or *Guymand*, whom *Roger Bishop*, of *Salisbury*, placed there, A. D. 1111, in the time of *Henry the First*.—But as the usual style of Architecture of *Henry the First* (so well known, and so positively ascertained, at *Norwich*, and at *Ely*, and in other places) is so extremely different from this at *Oxford*;—so much less ornamented;—so much more massive, and heavy;—and of such very different proportions:—and as *Dugdale* himself informs us, from unquestionable authority, that a Monastery, first of Nuns, and then of *Secular Clergy*, existed here long before, we may very justly be led to conclude, that a great part of the Building

* *Dugdale's Monasticon*, p. 173.—And *Browne Willis*, Vol. I. p. 282.

of the Church, was of that *prior age*;—and to such indeed the peculiarity of its Architecture does properly belong.

We read, that in the time of *Egelred*, or *Ethelred* the Second, when the Danes were massacred in England, many of them fled into this Monastery of St. *Frideswide's*, and were burnt there, about A. D. 1002.—And that soon after this horrid event, the King, repenting of what had been done, rebuilt the Monastery, restored its lands, and added more.

From this period, therefore, we may most fairly date the beginning of this venerable Structure of the present Cathedral of Christ Church;—whatever might be the prior original Building; constructed either by *Frideswide* herself, or at least soon after her death, A. D. 735.

On the outside of the small Towers, at the end of the north Transept, and also at the west end, are found those *unequal* ornamental Arches, and Pillars, or rather round Pilasters, which appear on so many Saxon Structures.*—The great door, by which the Church is entered, as well as that of the Chapter House, is truly Saxon;—and, within, its Architecture deserves the utmost attention.

All the Capitals of the Pillars of the Nave are *varied* one from another, and yet are elegant, in a degree that deserves to have them placed above either the preceding rude devices of *Offa's* days, and of the early Saxon Kings; or the more clumsy and more disproportioned Norman Capitals of the age of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, or Henry the First;—with all, or any, of which, it is almost impossible to confound them.—And there can be very little doubt, but that the other many Pillars of the Nave, in that part that was extended towards the west, and which was pulled down to make room for the building of the College, were equally *varied*, and well designed.†

* These are partly shewn in a north view of the Church, in the *Monasticon*, p. 174; where appears also the great pointed window, that was inserted between these Towers, about the time of Henry the Sixth.

† Nearly half of the Nave has been taken down, to make way for the great Quadrangle of the College.—*Browne Willis* makes the part pulled down to have been about fifty feet, Vol. I. p. 232.

The proportions also of the shafts, of most of the Pillars, in this venerable Structure, are better than those of the Pillars that we have found constructed in any of the preceding ages.

This will appear to the eye more fully, on inspecting the annexed exact representation, of the east side of the north Transept, Pl. XLIII.

The space, between the Pillars, has been filled up with curious skreens of *Norman* work, of a much later date. And the old *Saxon* window, over the Arch on the left hand, has been transformed into a more modern *Norman* window, of the age of Henry the Sixth. — But the rest remains just as it was originally: with the little beautiful *Saxon* Arches, filling up the inner space of each of the great Arches.

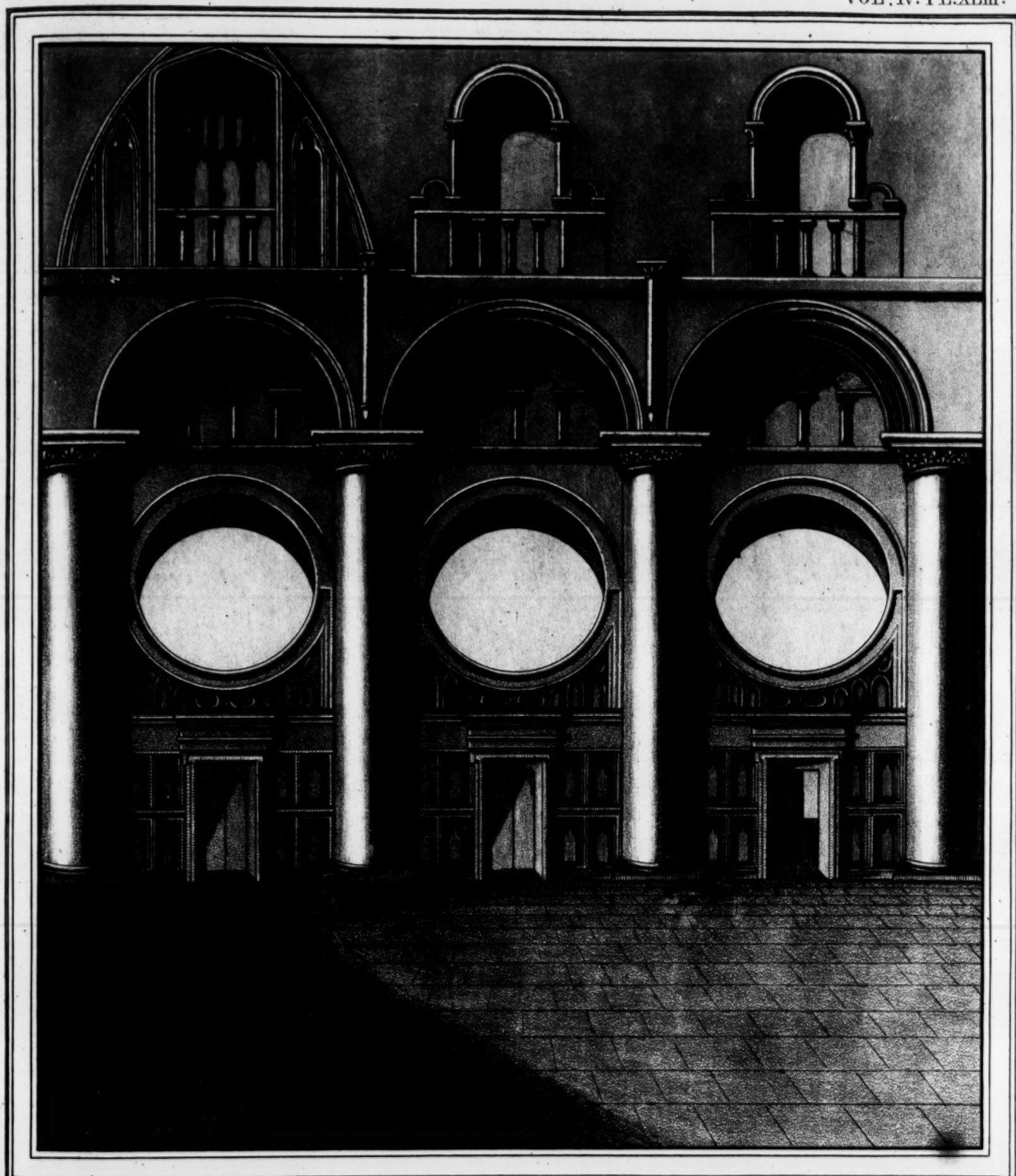
Pl. XLIV. represents a part of the north side of the Choir, as it now is, only omitting the modern Stalls, and the Closets behind them, framed of wood, which sadly block up the great Arches, — and prevent the view into the side Isle.

The little inner Arches above, within the sweep of each great Arch, found so uniformly in this Structure, supplying as it were the place of a transom stone, all remain as they were. — But high above, the old *Saxon* windows are now found all transformed into beautiful *Norman* windows, of Henry the Sixth's time.

In Pl. XLIV. therefore, the whole is represented restored, as nearly as possible, as it was originally; — being made fully to correspond with such parts of the Building as remain unaltered, in the north Transept, and elsewhere.

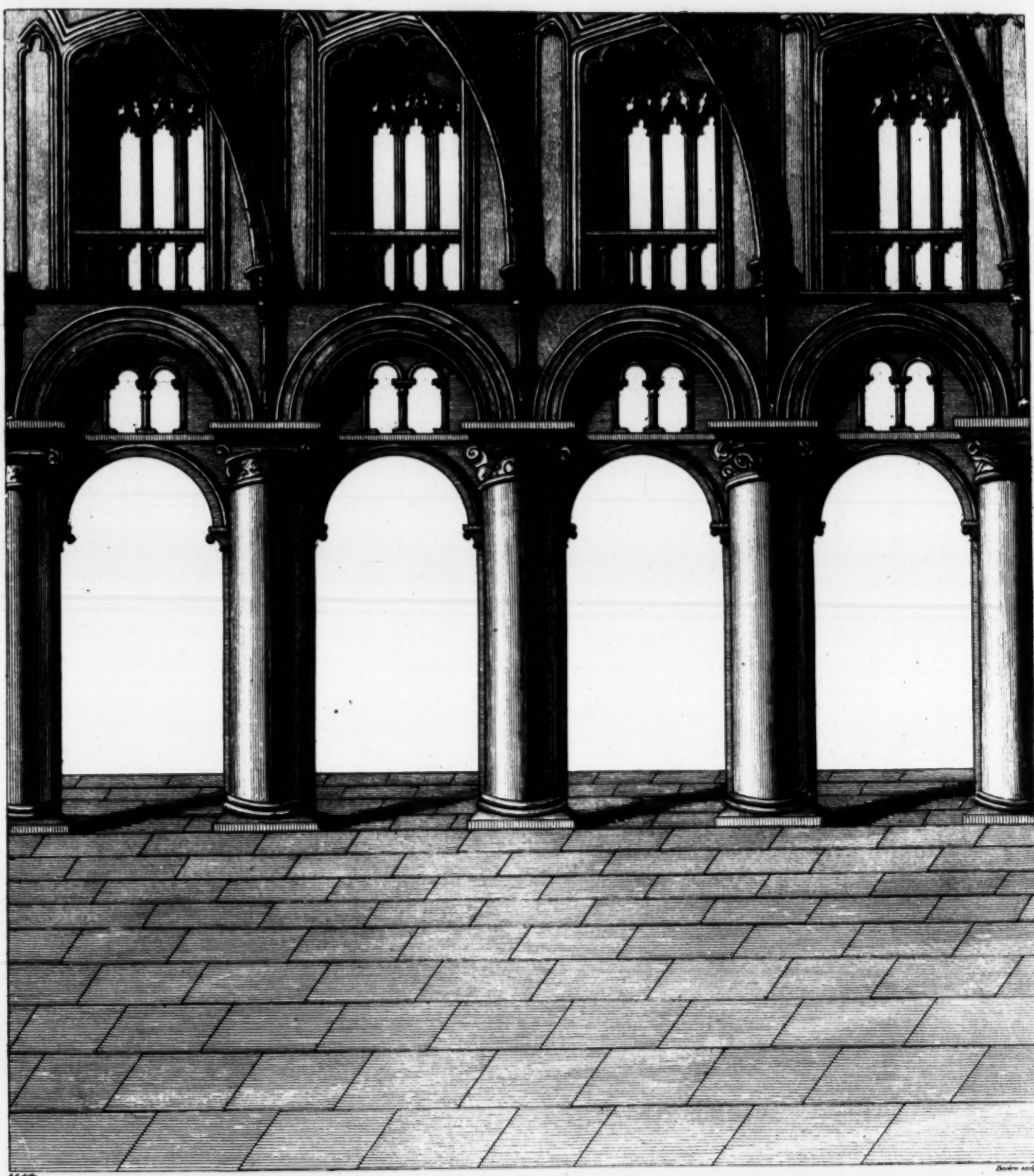
And surely no one, who well considers the proportions, and elegance of design, of the parts we have been describing, can either confound this style of Architecture, with that of the first *Normans*, (which was rather a *retrogradation* of skill, and design); or avoid perceiving what greatly improved ideas were introduced, in the time of *Alfred*; and were continued to be still more improved, in the reign of *Ethelred*, and even to the time of *Canute*.

The slight etchings, Pl. XLVI. are sufficient to give a full idea of the Capitals of two of the Pillars in the north Transept.



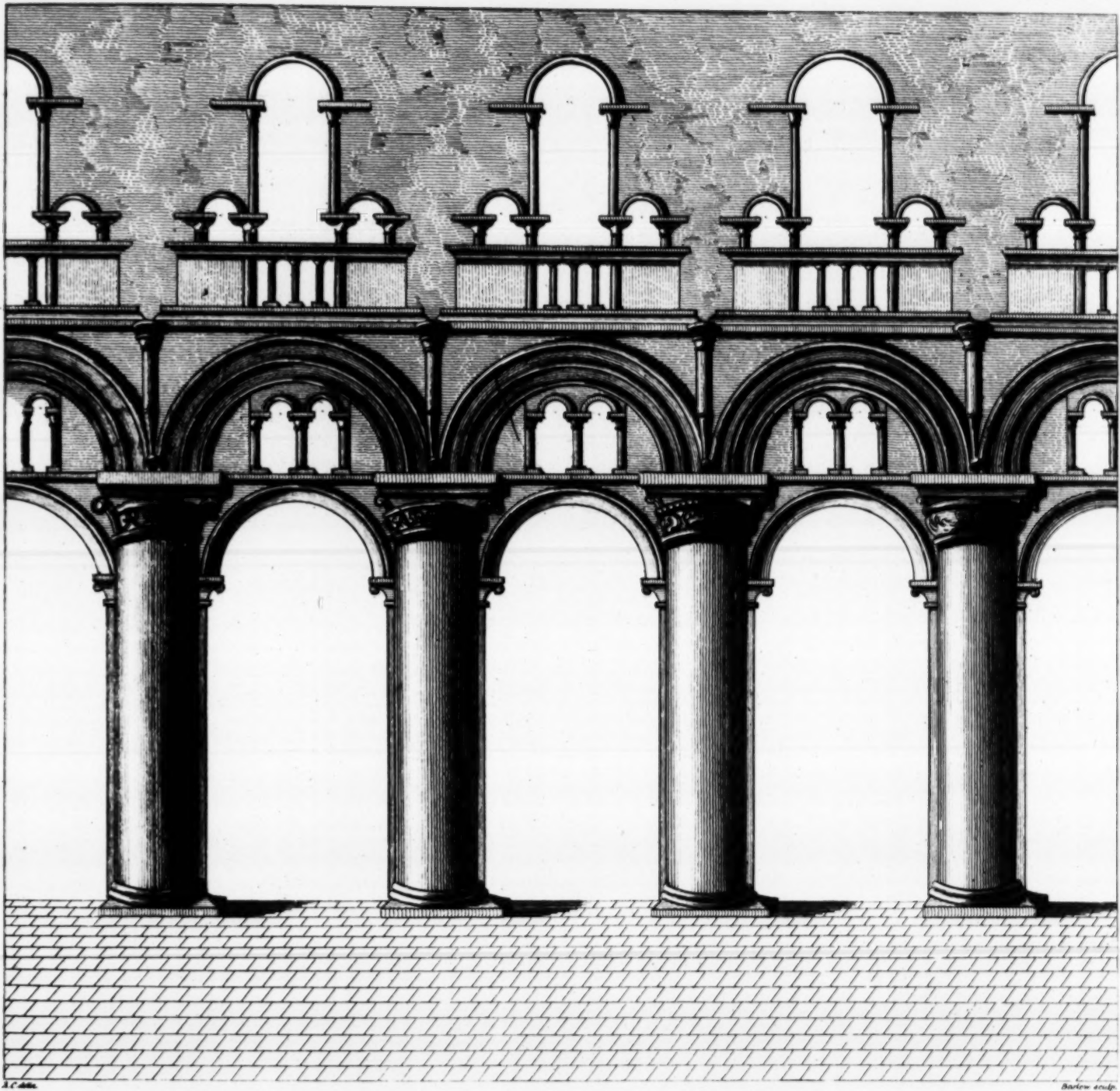
East Side of the North Transept of the Cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford.





Part of the North side of the Choir at Christ Church, Oxford, omitting the Closets & Stalls.





North side of the Choir, of the Cathedral of Christ Church, in Oxford, in its original state.



Fig. 1.

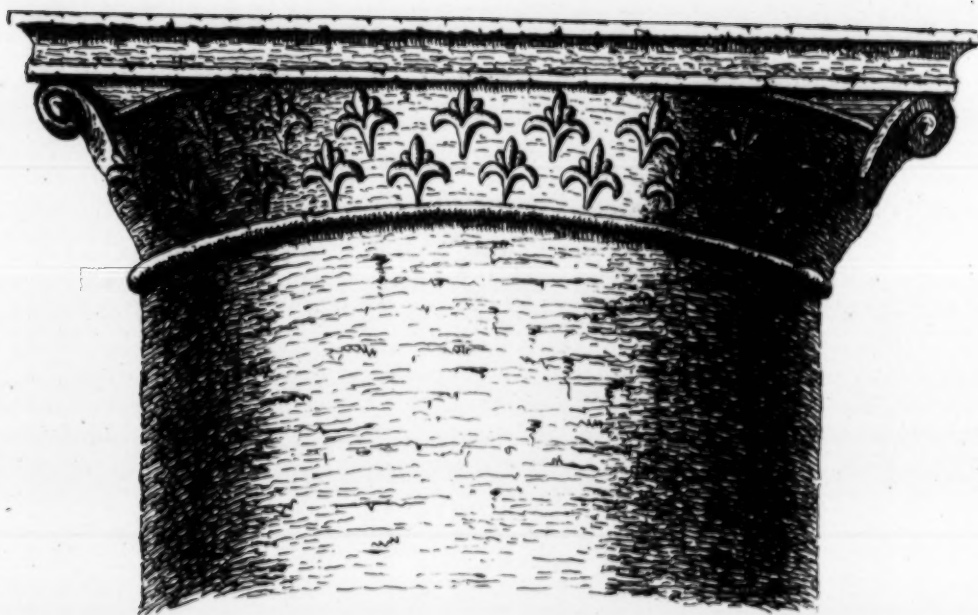
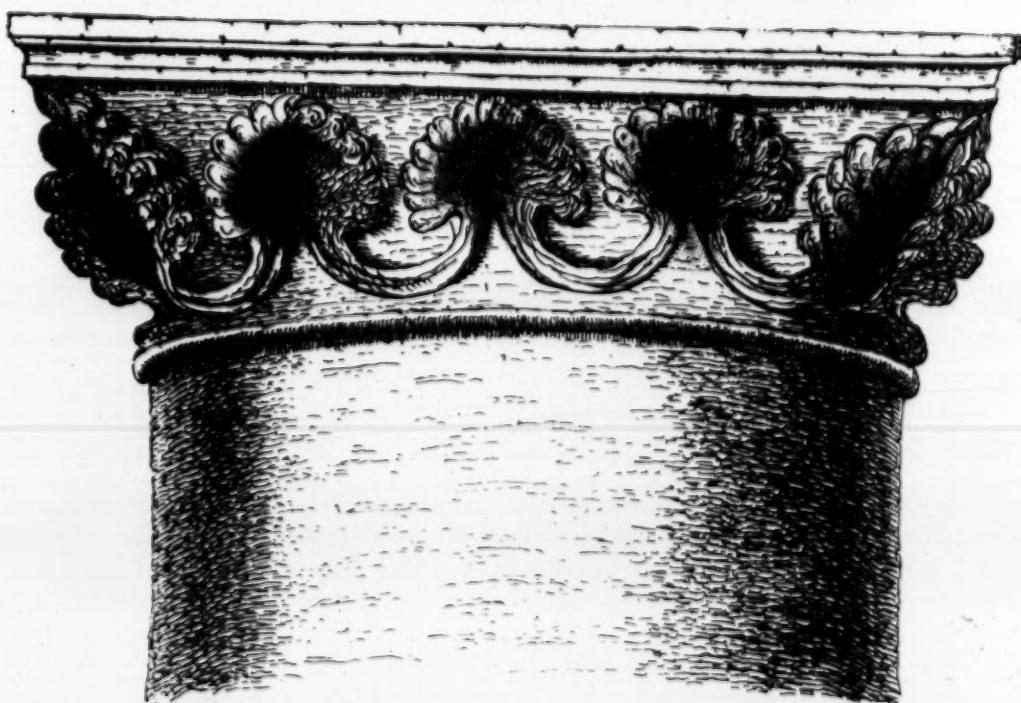


Fig. 2.



Saxon Capitals at Christ Church, Oxford.

Fig. 1.

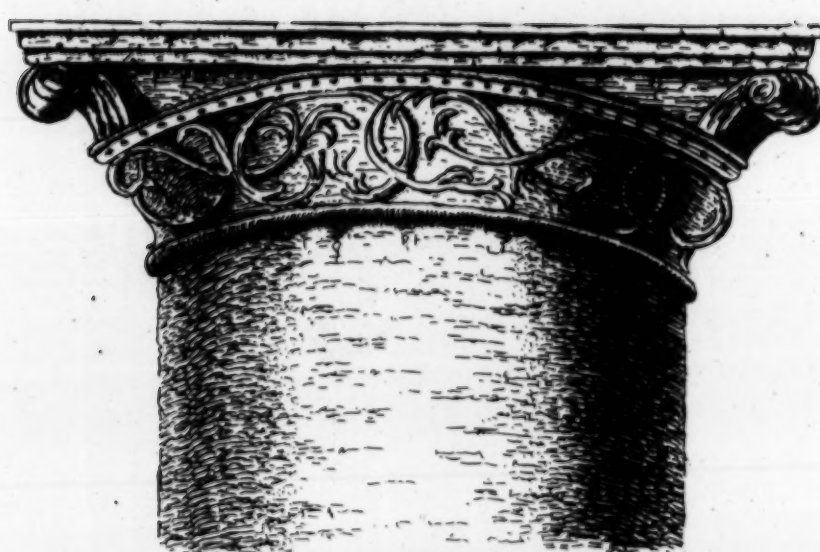
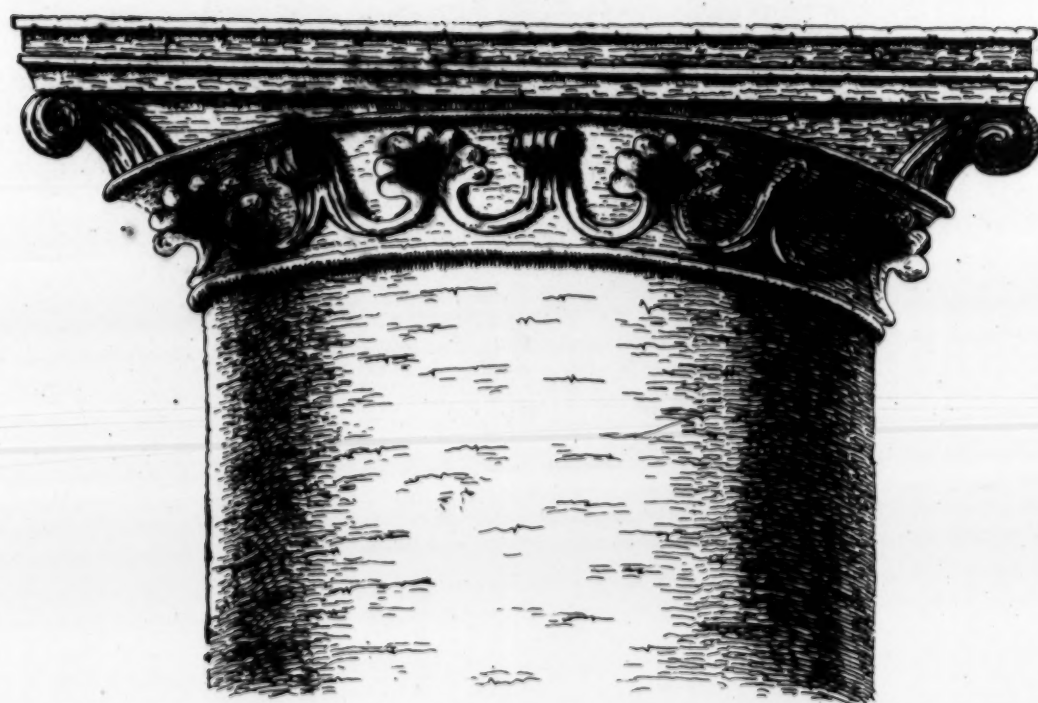


Fig. 2.



Saxon Capitals at Christ Church, Oxford.

And those, Pl. XLVII. to give an idea of two of the Pillars of the Choir, on a larger scale.

And in Pl. X. of this Volume, No. 2, are a few more slight sketches, of some others of the varied *Saxon* Capitals of this Church of *Ethelred's*; marked Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5;—and placed in that very plate, with a design to shew the contrast between them, and the earlier *Saxon* Capitals, at *Pershore*, represented in the same Plate, No. 1, and Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5.

The Architects of *Alfred's*, and of *Grimbald's* time, unquestionably meant somewhat to imitate, though with a considerable degree of *fancied variation*, (consistently with the prevailing fashion of their age) the works which they had seen at Rome.—And it ought not to escape our notice, that even at Rome itself, in the Capitals of several Pillars, there were begun to be introduced *great variations*, from the original regular patterns of the Capitals of the five orders, which had been reduced to their best standard, about the time of the *Antonines*.

Of this introduction of *variety*, and departure from all rule, there are sufficient proofs, in the specimens of Capitals given us by *Piranesi*.*

These very *variations*, therefore, might probably lead the *Saxon* Artists, and Travellers, to fancy they should even shew their skill, by studying to make still greater.

The same sort of idea seems to have prevailed in the minds of all Architects almost, in what are called barbarous ages.—For of this there are still more unquestionable proofs, in the surprizing *varieties* of the Capitals of Pillars, in Egypt, and elsewhere, as given us in the curious Plates of *Norden*, and *Pococke*.

In addition to these various *Saxon* Capitals at Christ's Church, there are inserted also, Pl. X. Fig. 6, 7, 8, with sufficient exactness to convey the real idea of their appearance, some of the grotesque heads, which are placed upon the top of the Pillars, in a manner not very unlike those at *Tewkesbury*;—and like them designed to support the bottom of the antient brackets, or consoles, that were bearings for the beams of the original wooden roof.

* Vol. II. and IV.—Pl. XIII. XVII. XXI. XXV.

As the curious Crypt of the age of *Alfred*, under the Church of St. Peter's, at *Oxford*, has been mentioned; and the strange grotesque devices, on its Capitals: so we have another Building; just where we might most reasonably expect to meet with such an one; that appears most unquestionably to have been nearly of the same age; and that is, the Crypt, and lower part of the Choir, of the Cathedral Church at Canterbury.

That judicious investigator of Antiquities, Mr. Gostling, (justly rejecting* the hasty conclusions of the learned Mr. Battely, formed merely in his closet; and of others, who, not taking the trouble to look about them, at really existing Remains, have laid too much stress upon expressions of *Eadmer*, and of other historians, concerning the destruction of Buildings by the Danes, or concerning their being rebuilt, at very different periods; as implying, in such instances, always a total re-edification), shews, that there is very great reason to conclude, that part of the very antient Saxon Structure at Canterbury still remains.—And the whole tenor of the observations, which we have had occasion to make in these sheets, tends to confirm the same idea.

He says, “those who compare the Vault under the Choir at Canterbury, with Grymbald's Crypt, under the antient Church of St. Peter in Oxford, will easily see, that the same designers and the same workmen could hardly have erected two Buildings more strongly resembling each other, than these: except that the one at Canterbury is larger, and more profusely decorated with variety of fancied ornaments: the shafts of many of the Pillars being twisted, or otherwise varied; and many of the Capitals just in the same grotesque taste.”†

I have myself seen both,‡—and can affirm, that the observation

* Gostling's *Walk about Canterbury*, p. 73, 82. See also the second edition, p. 80.

† Several of these Capitals are represented in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. I. p. 57, and may be compared with those in Grymbald's Crypt, at St. Peter's, Oxford, which are delineated in the *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 151. They both seem to have been equally designed, as rude emblematical satyrs upon, and reproofs of vice, wickedness, ignorance, and folly.

‡ There is a comparative view of some of these Capitals inserted in Mr. Gostling's book, p. 80, second edition.—But it is rather a curious circumstance; and which

is most just.—And must also add, that the *ornaments, and twisting of the Pillars*, which Mr. Gostling speaks of, accord with the style of other *Saxon* Pillars, of the early ages; such as those which have been mentioned, as existing at *Orford* Chapel, in *Suffolk*; and at *Lindisfarne*, in *Northumberland*.

Mr. Gostling observes, that the Crypt at *Canterbury*, is larger than that at *Oxford*.—And so it is indeed, very much.—But, nevertheless, the real fact seems, in both instances, to have been, that the original building of the Church above, (exactly of the dimensions of each, and standing over each), was the whole of each original *Saxon* Church.—And, as much of the walls, and even of the upper vaulting, of that at *Oxford*, still remains; so, in like manner, at *Canterbury*, a part of the first original walls, on the sides of the Choir, still most visibly exists.

The outside of the walls of the Choir, from what is called *St. Michael's Chapel*, eastward, is adorned* with a range of small Pillars, standing close to the wall like Pilasters, about six inches diameter, and three feet high; some with fantastick shafts, and capitals; some with plain ones. These support little Arches,

has not yet been duly attended to; that these sort of Capitals, composed of ugly, offensive, and distorted figures of monsters, and various animals, are, in general, confined to Crypts, and Vaults.

The reason most probably was, that they were designed to represent, in strong impressive, though rude emblematical language, in these repositories of the dead, the enormous ugliness of sin, and vice, and folly; and of evil passions of every kind: all which are the original causes of death.

That the Saxons designed Capitals of a much more pleasant, and beautiful kind, in the upper part of their Buildings, appears on the outside walls of the upper part of the Remains of *Odo's* work, at *Canterbury* itself.—And in the Capitals, in the upper part of *St. Peter's* Church, at *Oxford*:—and in the Capitals of *Christ Church* Cathedral, at *Oxford*.

And in these upper parts of their Buildings, where any of the distorted figures are at all introduced; they, even there, seem generally to have been intended to remind the spectators, of that degenerate state of vice, and folly, from which the preaching of the Gospel, in these very Buildings, was designed to deliver those, who would attend to it.

Such appear to have been the plain ideas, that prevailed in the rough minds of the primitive Saxons, before their attention was drawn to the images of Saints:—and whilst illiterate people (who could not read), would understand such sort of rude allusions, better than they could have understood any writing, or inscriptions.

* Gostling, p. 78.

which intersect each other: and this girdle (if such an expression may be allowed) is continued round a Staircase Tower; round the eastern Cross Isle, and round the Chapel of St. Anselm, as far as the more modern Building called Becket's Chapel.

We have taken notice of some Remains of the same sort of small intersecting Arches, on a part of the wall of Grymbald's Church at Oxford.

Mr. Gostling adds further proofs of the real existence of the old original *Saxon* Walls of the Church, at Canterbury, to this hour.—For he says,* that there are, in them, in different parts, “a number of Arches now walled up, which could never be designed for discharging the weight over windows so disposed as those we see at present, plainly appearing to have been broken out at some other time than when the walls themselves were built.”

And, in another place, he mentions† a very fair circular window-frame of stone, existing on the outside of the wall, over the door from the Cloyster into the Martyrdom, of which nothing is to be seen on the inside:—and which can now only be seen when the Cloister-leads are repairing.

The fact therefore, with regard to the history of the building of this Metropolitan Church, seems to have been, that previous to the arrival of *Augustine* in Britain, A. D. 597, there was a Church built on this very spot, at Canterbury, of some kind or other, for the use of such of the Roman soldiers, and Britons, as were Christians;‡—a Structure probably of the same kind with that of *St. Martin*, and with that at *Dover Castle*, both of which have been mentioned in the preceding Volumes.

And this Structure seems to have been utterly ruined by the repeated ravages of the Danes.

After which, Archbishop *Odo*,§ A. D. 938, began a thorough re-edification. And that what he reared was of *stone*, and a sort of lasting Edifice, appears from the account given us, that when the Danes again, in 1011, endeavoured to destroy it, finding the walls so strong, they piled wooden vessels up to the roof, to

* P. 81.

† P. 75.

‡ See also Gostling, p. 85.

§ P. 87.

convey the flames to it; and to effect, in some shape or other at least, that terrible destruction, which was their great object, where-ever they came.

This Edifice, afterwards, when *Canute* had obtained peaceable possession of England, was repaired by Archbishop *Egelnoth*, about A. D. 1030; assisted by the royal munificence of that great Christian Monarch, who moreover presented to the Church his crown of gold.

Nearly two hundred years after *Odo's* time, Archbishop *Lanfranc* is generally supposed to have pulled the whole down to the foundations; and to have reared a great part of the present Structure.—But there is every reason, from the appearance of the walls themselves, and from the shortness of the time in which he is said to have finished his whole work, (which was no more than seven years,) to believe that he left *Odo's* walls, as far as they extended, in great part standing; which are those, that we still behold, with their curious band of little Saxon Arches, and small Pillars, or round Pilasters, on the outside; and with the massy Pillars, supporting the Vault of the Crypt within.

After having given some account of these Buildings, as *leading* specimens of the improved style of Architecture, in the age of *Alfred*; we now draw near to the consideration of an age, when the prevalence of superstition, in succeeding days; and particularly in those of *Edward the Confessor*; and the direful state of violence, and uproar, occasioned by the intrigues of Earl *Goodwin*, and other great lordly oppressors, and their crafty designs, caused a sort of *retrogradation* in art; and occasioned a more *hasty*, and negligent style of Building.

Of this we seem to have, amongst others, three remarkable instances;—one at *Southwell* in Nottinghamshire;—one at *Rochester* in Kent;—and the other at *Waltham* in Essex.

Dr. Stukely thought* the Cathedral still remaining at *Southwell*, was in great part the very Church built by *Paulinus*, the Northumbrian Apostle, A. D. 630.—But the Architecture of the

* See Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 43.

greatest part does surely by no means agree completely with such a conjecture.

The general history of the first building of the Church, allowed on all hands, is, that a Structure of some kind or other was reared here, by *Paulinus*, Archbishop of York, in the time of *Edwin*, King of Northumberland,* about the year 630;—that King *Edgar*, (the great Patron of the Monks), was so much a benefactor, as to be deemed its *Founder*;†—and that a constant tradition has prevailed, in the place itself, that the old part of the Fabric, towards the west end, was built in the reign of *one of the Harolds*.‡—Here therefore we may justly look for *Harold's style of Architecture*.

Paulinus, after he had built a Church at *Southwell*, having been obliged to leave his diocese of York, in consequence of the death of King *Edwin*, A. D. 653, and of the irruption of the *Pagan Saxons*, was appointed, by the Pope, Bishop of *Rochester*; where he continued till his death, A. D. 644.

And, as it is well known, that a Church had been begun to be built at *Rochester*, nearly about the year 600,|| we might indeed easily be led (from the similarity there is between the most antient parts of the two Buildings) to adopt Dr. *Stukely's* ideas; and to conclude both *Southwell*, and *Rochester*, to have been built under the direction of *Paulinus*, and to have been of that very early age.

For indeed there is a great similarity, as may be seen Pl. XLVIII. and Pl. XLIX.

But as there are certain peculiarities, in the Architecture of *Rochester Cathedral*, which are so unlike any in the early age of *Paulinus*, that they have even induced some Antiquaries to conclude,

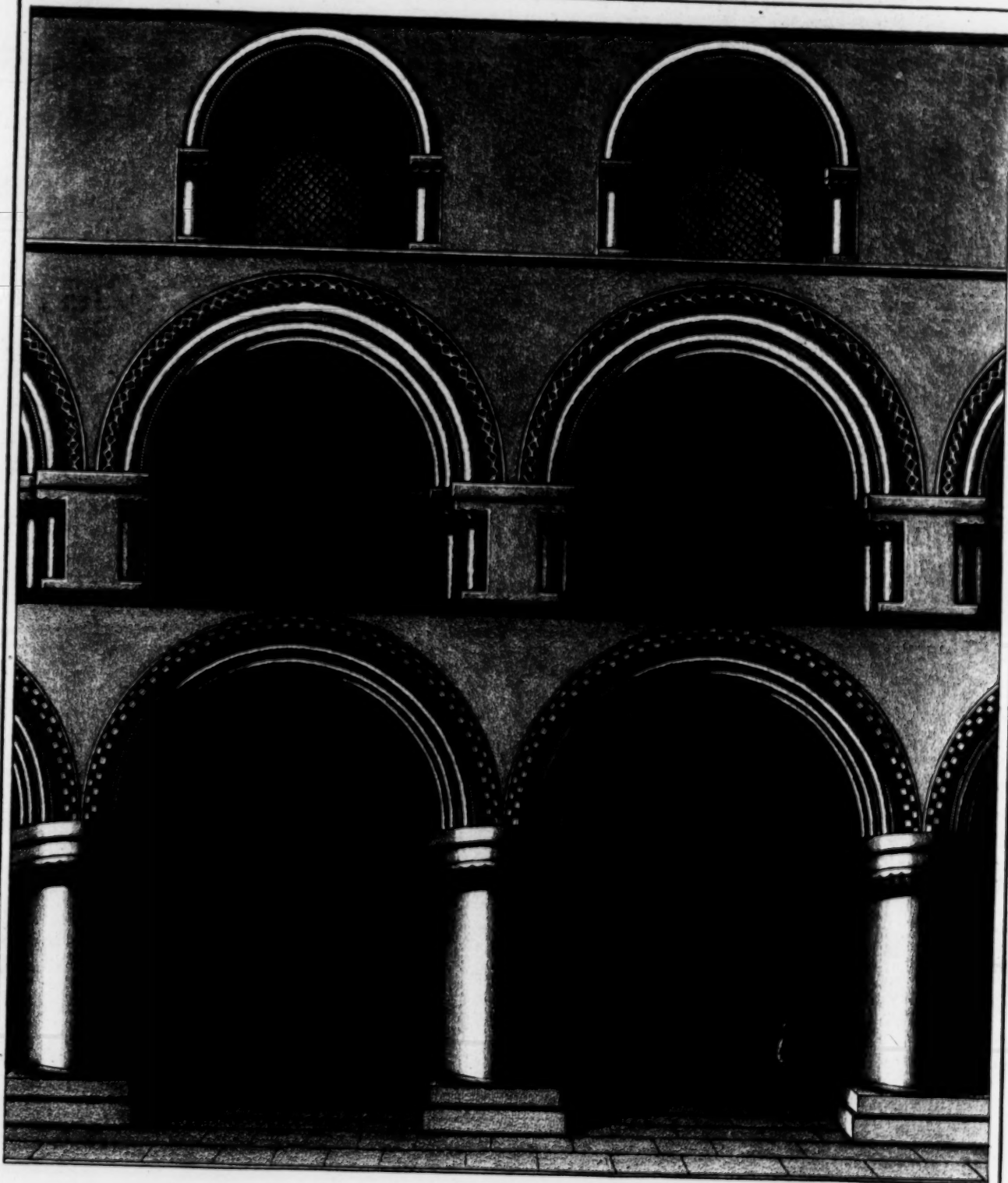
* See *Rastall's History of Southwell*, p. 19, 110.—To avoid inserting the numerous references to *Bede*, and others, it is sufficient to cite the pages, in *Mr. Rastall's* very curious, and accurate History of the Church of *Southwell*; where the whole are collected with great care;—and with whose very judicious conclusions I perfectly agree, for the greater part;—though the variety of observations I have been enabled to make, on different Buildings, (when compared together), compel me to differ from him, a little, in some few instances.

† *Rastall's History*, p. 131.

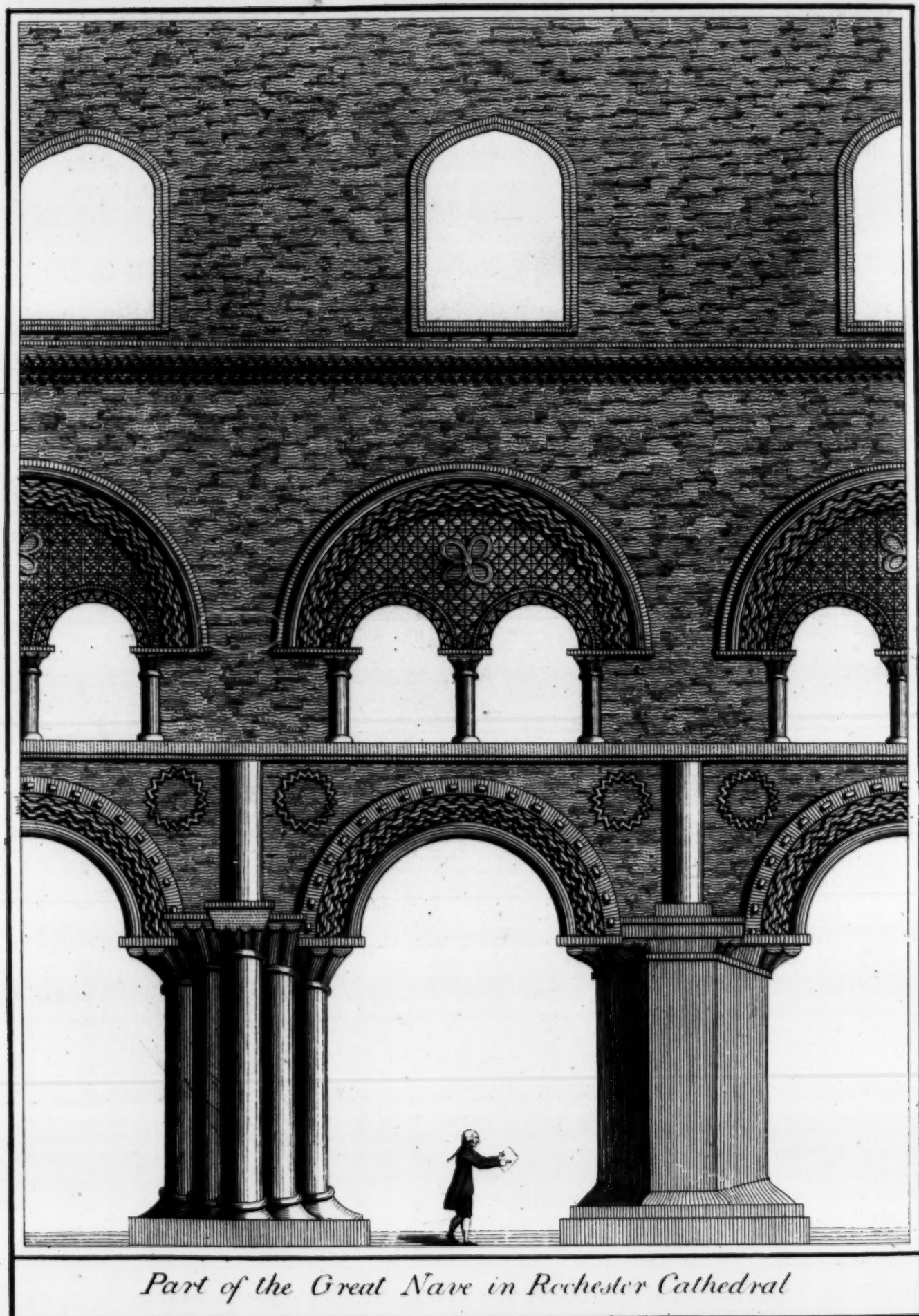
‡ P. 36, 43.

§ P. 21.

|| See *Dugdale's Monasticon*, p. 27; and the very curious little History of *Rochester*, published at *Rochester*, A. D. 1712, p. 57.



Part of the Great Nave of the Church of Southwell in Nottinghamshire C.



Part of the Great Nave in Rochester Cathedral

(erroneously, as it appears to me,) that the most antient part of that Building was altogether constructed* by Bishop Gundulph, after the Conquest;—and as, on the other hand, there are particularities at *Southwell*, that undoubtedly do much agree with the Architecture of the *Harolds*;—whilst in neither, are there any of those very little antient Saxon Arches, in the upper parts of the walls, corresponding with such as we have found at *Pershore*, at *Ewenny*, and at *Tewkesbury*;†—and which (wherever they are found) are always the most truly *characteristick marks* of the earliest Saxon times; we must conclude the parts of both the Buildings, at *Southwell*, and at *Rochester*, which are so alike, to have been of a later age than that of *Paulinus*, A. D. 630 or 640, and rather of the time of the *Harolds*, and of *Edward the Confessor*.

An investigation of the particularities whereof both Structures are composed; and a comparison of them with Buildings which are unquestionably known to have been constructed, in the days of either of the *Harolds*, before the Conquest; and with Buildings decidedly known to have been the works of Bishop Gundulph, after the Conquest; will perhaps enable us to assign to each part its true date; and will, perhaps, also enable us to allow, that in some small parts of both Cathedrals, there do still remain, *vestiges* of the original Buildings of *Paulinus*; though not in that general uniformity of the more ostensible parts, in which Dr. Stukeley was led to believe he discerned them;—and in which more ostensible parts, though so perfectly agreeing, is seen a style of Architecture, certainly not compatible with any that ever existed in the years 630 or 640.

Pl. XLVIII. shews a part of the Nave of the Church of *Southwell*.

Pl. XLIX. shews a similar part of the Nave of the Church of *Rochester*, near the west end.

And Pl. LI. shews a similar part of what was once the Nave of the Church of *Waltham Abbey*, in Essex, built by *Harold*, before he was King; and which still remains, forming now a part of the body of the Parish Church.

* History of Rochester, p. 58.

† See Plates IX. XXIX. XVIII. in this Volume.

The general *similarity* of all these three, we may plainly perceive, consists most particularly in the form of the *middle row of Arches*.—But, in the Pillars, and Arches, at bottom, and in those Arches higher up, are material differences in the style of Architecture.

Waltham Abbey, we are assured, was built by *Earl Harold*,* before his assuming the crown, and some considerable time before the Norman Conquest. And the style of Architecture, of his age, which may very well be deemed a continuation of that which prevailed in the time of the first *King Harold*, appears completely in this Structure, and is carefully represented Pl. LI.

Therein, at bottom, are found Pillars discordant in form; and with such clumsy, large, over-hanging, and projecting Capitals, as appear, notwithstanding this heaviness,† scarcely able, in consequence of *their projecting*, to support the Arches above.—Whilst the Arches themselves are adorned, with that sort of billeted moulding, and with that sort of zig-zag indented moulding, ill executed, which is so often seen in Buildings that were reared just before the Conquest, or immediately after it.

But at *Southwell*, we find at bottom, as is shewn Pl. XCVIII. Pillars of a far more uniform, and more simple construction;—and in a style, and sort of proportion, much more resembling those of the *very early ages*.

They all are round, as are those at *Gloucester*, and *Tewkesbury*; and are not very unlike, in their proportions, to those at *Ewenny*.—These Pillars therefore, we may fairly conclude to have been of the age of Paulinus, about A. D. 630.—But as to the Arches resting upon them, they seem more modern.—There is a strange peculiarity in them, deservedly taken notice of by Mr. Rastall;‡ which is, that at the vertex of each Arch, is a large, projecting, cylindrical stone, with a round hole in its centre, and an ad-

* See the Charter of Edward the Confessor, dated 1020, in the *Monasticon*, Vol. II. p. 11; and Camden, Vol. II. p. 41, Gough's ed.

† The strange appearing *projection inwards* of the part of each Capital, that supports the inmost compartments of each Arch, is no defect in the drawing, but is an exact resemblance of the original Structure.

‡ Rastall's History, p. 44.

joining groove, cut from thence, to the circumference; the purpose of which seems to have been, *to support the Arches*, by the adventitious aid of a rod, perpendicularly inserted in these holes, *to hold up the top*.—A device, which could have been occasioned only by some doubts as to the strength of the Arch, and by a sort of retrogradation of art, and skill.

We are therefore, in consequence of all these circumstances, plainly led to conclude, that though the Pillars were indeed of the age of *Paulinus*, about A. D. 680, (when they had probably only corresponding *Saxon* Arches, and a plain wall over them quite up to the roof; with such very little irregular Arches, inserted in rows, as appear at *Ewenny*, and *Pershore*, and *Tewkesbury*;—and with plain narrow *Saxon* windows);—that yet the present great and lower Arches, resting on the Pillars, and the Arches of the middle row, and those at the top, were of a later age; when art was declining from the state it had arrived to in the days of *Alfred*, and of *Canute*.—And that the wall built by *Paulinus*, had been taken down, as far as the great Pillars at bottom, on the occasion of this reparation.

And we are further led to this conclusion, and even to deem this reparation to have been made about the days of one of the *Harolds*, or of *Edward the Confessor*, because (as Mr. Rastall justly observes) the Architecture much accords with the old manuscript* description of *Westminster Abbey*, (as it existed, when rebuilt by *Edward the Confessor*).

The old *Saxon* Pillars of *Paulinus*, seem to have been preserved, on account of their solidity, to support the new superstructure, just as the old *Saxon* Pillars were left, at *Malvern Church* in *Worcestershire*;—to support the present Nave.

In the next place, with regard to *Southwell*, it ought not to pass unnoticed, that King *Edgar*, or *Eadgar*, is, in the certificate delivered, concerning this Church, into the Court of Augmentation, even called *its Founder*;† though it does not at all appear, upon record, *what* his benefaction was.

* The substance of this manuscript account has been preserved, and given to us, in Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 296.

† Rastall's *History*, p. 181.

As therefore no donation of lands bestowed by him, is mentioned, we may, and indeed we must fairly conclude, that, to deserve the name of *Founder*, he built some considerable part of the Church.— And there actually are considerable parts of the Building, that appear to be precisely of his age.

These are particularly the Towers, at the west end, and in the middle of the Church;* which may be ascribed to him.

Edgar's was the age of building Towers, as ornaments for Churches in general; and the age of introducing the use of great Bells:—a fact that has been surely well enough ascertained by Mr. Bentham,† and which is corroborated by the uniform style of so many Saxon Towers in England.

That style unquestionably appears in these Towers at Southwell, exclusive of their additional wooden Spires; and exclusive of the pointed arched Windows, inserted in the bottom part of those two, which are at the west front.—And Mr. Rastall very fairly admits,‡ that we may just as well conclude, that Archbishop *Alfric's* valuable present, in 1023, of two large Bells, to the Church of Southwell, might be made in consequence of proper Towers being found there already built; as that, in consequence of such present being made, such Towers were built.

I may venture to add, that we may much more reasonably make the former conclusion, than the latter;—because the year 1023 was, on the one hand, not only even prior to the time of the first *Harold*; (when Mr. Rastall supposes these Towers might have been built); but was, on the other hand, a period of time when a style of Architecture, under the auspices of King *Canute*, prevailed, of a very different, and more improved kind, than what is found appearing in this Tower;—of which fact we have a strong instance, in King *Canute's Bell Tower*, at St. Edmond's Bury in Suffolk.

* In this conclusion therefore, as well as in that concerning the lower Pillars, I cannot but venture to deviate a little from Mr. Rastall's general conclusion, of the whole of this antient part being of the age of *Harold*.

† See his History of Ely, p. 29, 30;—where, however, he very justly admits, that there is good reason to think this noble ornament to Buildings, was first introduced by the truly great King Alfred.

‡ Rastall's History of Southwell, p. 42.

On the whole, therefore, I cannot but conclude the fact, with regard to the more antient part of the Fabric at *Southwell*, to have been this:

That the *Pillars* of the lower part, next the ground, in the great Nave, were built originally in the time of *Paulinus*, about A. D. 630.

That the Tower, now in the midst of the Church, and the Towers of the west front, were built by King *Edgar*, about A. D. 960.

And that the great repair of the whole, of what was then the Church, to the roof, was made between 1036, and 1066, either by one of the *Harolds*, or by *Edward the Confessor*.

Mr. Rastall has observed,* that there are, in one of the western Towers, at *Southwell*, some *pointed Arches*; which seem to indicate the *first origin* of that species of Architecture.—And there can scarce remain a doubt, in the minds of those who are truly, and accurately inquisitive, but that the intersections of interlaced Arches, (first introduced in *Saxon* times), and which became at length so commonly in use, in the days of Henry the First, did give the first origin to this idea.

But yet, as to the *pointed Arches* of ornament, now seen on the outside of one of these Towers, at the west end of the Church at *Southwell*; it seems almost obvious, at first glance, on comparing them, with the corresponding, interlacing, semicircular Arches of the other Tower; that they were formed, merely from just such original intersecting, or interlacing *circular* Arches, having the intermediate parts, in far later, and more modern times, chiselled away† from the wall, to which they were all originally, only a sort of bass reliefs:—and that they were by no means formed as *pointed Arches* originally, in any early days.—The alteration was probably made, at some time when the Towers were repaired; and most probably, when the wooden Spires were first placed upon their summits.

* P. 45. And see also a very good representation of these Towers, in his Work.

† Mr. Rastall's curious Plate, p. 45, in reality itself indicates this very plainly.

Now let us, a little more particularly, examine *Rochester Cathedral*.—A Structure most unquestionably first reared during that uncertain period, when the total want of all records leave us under a necessity of having recourse to the *style* of Architecture, for any solid information.

This, in its oldest part, is now generally considered as being entirely of the building of Bishop *Gundulph*:*—but both the style of its Architecture, and the history of its foundation, contradict this too general conclusion.

When so many other *Saxon Churches*, of the earliest ages, are found still remaining, at least as to a *part* of their walls, it would be very surprising indeed, if at *Rochester*, (which See was even the *first* instituted next to *Canterbury*,† and which is situated so near to *Canterbury*), if *there*, of all places, no remains of the Architecture of those *first early times* should be found.

At *Canterbury* itself, we have seen, are obvious remains of Archbishop *Odo's* Building, in 938.—And here, at *Rochester*, if we duly attend to all circumstances, we shall surely find, are some remains even of the Building first begun by the bounty of King *Ethelbert*;‡—and finished by *Paulinus*, about 640.

Camden says,§ “*Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, built a noble Church here.” And that “this decaying by time, *Gundulphus* repaired it about 1080, and turning out the Priests introduced Monks.”

We may be assured, therefore, that this first Church, if it was so nobly built, was as likely to have some of its parts remaining, as any of the inferior *Saxon Churches*.—And the mode of expression which *Camden* so cautiously uses, concerning *Gundulph's* repairs, does plainly intimate an idea, even in his mind, that a part of the old Fabric itself was made use of by *Gundulph*; and actually so left remaining.

And indeed it would have been a strange thing, if *Camden* had not entertained such an idea, when we know that, at least, two *Bishops* were buried very early in most distinguished parts

* Gough's *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 232. † *Monasticon*, p. 30.

‡ *Registrum Roffense*, p. 3. § *Camden*, Vol. I. p. 214, Gough's ed.

of it;—(*Paulinus** himself in the *Sacristy*;—and *Tobias*,† in a *Portico*, which he had erected);—and that at least a sufficient part of the Church was standing, on Bishop *Gundulph*'s appointment to the See, for him to be enthroned in it.

The great West Door of the Cathedral, if we fairly compare it with the great Portal, and Arches of *Gundulph*'s Castle, (which he is known to have built about the same time that he re-edified Rochester Cathedral‡), will be found to have nothing in reality of *his style* in it, or at all like the Architecture of the Portal of the Castle; but to be precisely in the style of the best door-cases of the earliest Saxon Churches.

There is a flat transom stone, as it were supporting the Arch, and adorned with a rude sort of bass relief;§ and the Capitals of its Columns, as well as the whole Arch itself, are cut into grotesque figures of various animals, and flowers.—And on the front of the transom stone of the Arch, is represented a Bishop, preaching the doctrine of the twelve Apostles, whose figures, therefore, appear carved in small relievos beneath; whilst those of angels, and of the four evangelical symbols, are placed around.—And though it be true that there are remains of two Columns, one on each side, which appear now to have the addition, in their upper parts, of two statues, supposed to resemble *Henry the First*, and his Queen *Matilda*, the Royal Patrons of *Gundulph*; yet, as the Columns themselves bear visible marks of having been altered from what they were originally, these figures seem rather to have been

* *Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. ca. 14.* In *Secretario*,—this has often been translated *Sacristy*; but surely it much rather means *Council Room*, or *Chapter-House*.—Although, in a merely *Parochial* Church, it may mean *Sacristy*, or *Vestry*.

† *Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. v. ca. 23.* The manner in which Bede here makes use of the word *Portico*, confirms very much the observations that have been already made, in this Volume, (p. 163, 164); concerning the *Saxon* meaning of that word.—Bede says of *Tobias*:—"Sepultus vero est in porticu Sancti Pauli Apostoli, quam intro Ecclesiam Sancti Andreae sibi ipse in locum sepulcri fecerat."—He was buried in the *Portico* of St. Paul the Apostle, which he himself had made (or built) within the Church of St. Andrew, as a place for his own sepulture.

‡ Text. *Roffen. ca. 88, p. 148*, Hearne ed.

§ There is an engraving of this Door-way in Mr. Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, p. 155.

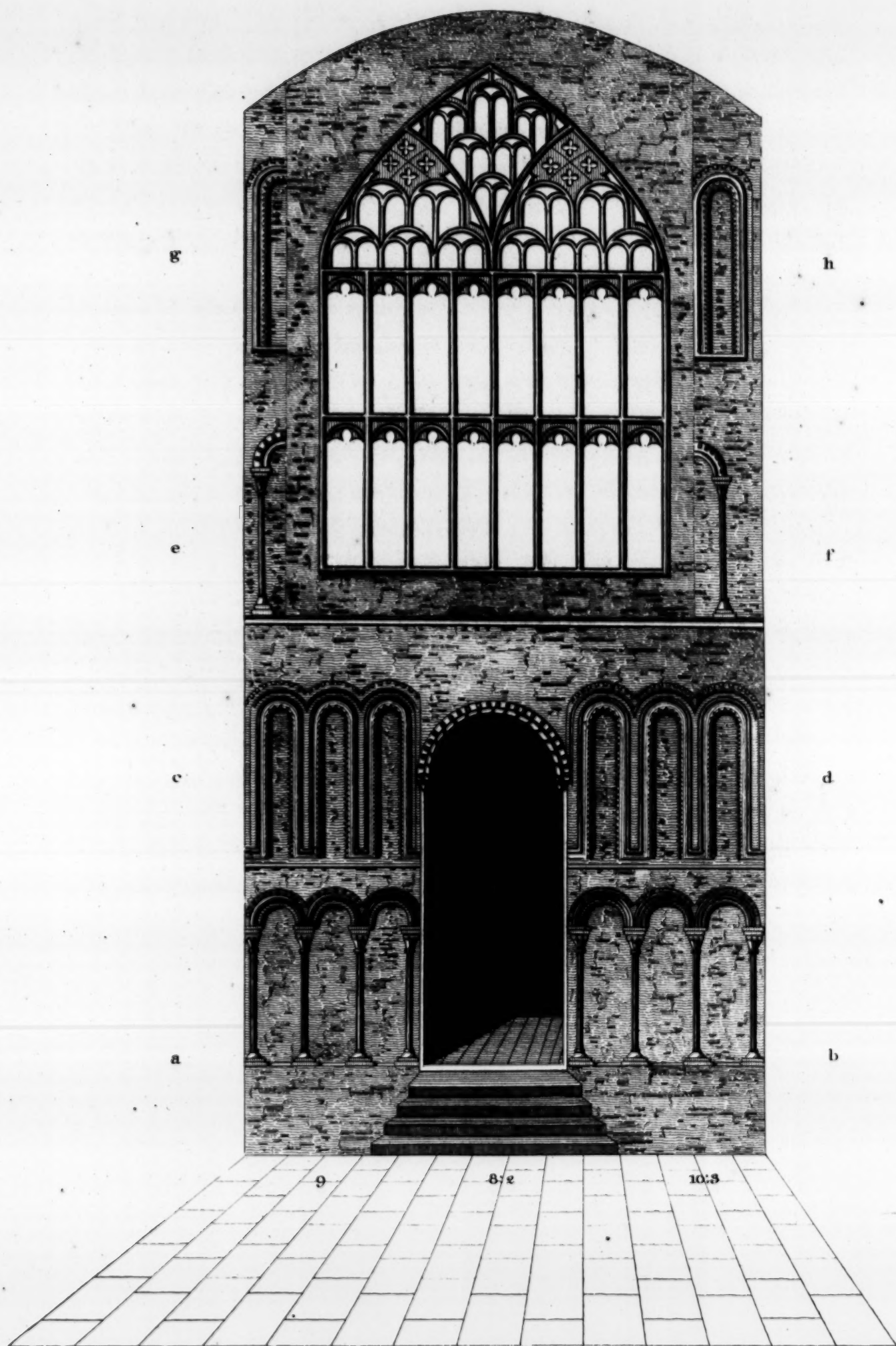
subsequent additions, than a part of the original Portal; and may very well be allowed to have been added, either by Gundulph, or even in later ages, to the original beautiful Saxon Door-case, which he found there. Nor was there any great difficulty in doing this; for how very easily any one of the original Pillars might be removed, and changed, appears from the outer one of all, on the right hand side, being now actually quite taken away, whilst its rich Capital alone is left suspended; and whilst the corresponding Pillar, on the left-hand side, remains entire.

On the inside of the west front wall, over this Door, also, (in which a great pointed window has been inserted, about the time of Henry the Sixth), are found remains of Arches, on each side, and at bottom, which appear much rather to have been of an early Saxon age, than of the age of Gundulph;—and to have formed (some of them at least) those sort of small Saxon windows, which were in use, in that first period.

These are exactly represented Pl. L.

The width of the Nave is, just as here given, twenty-seven feet, five inches:—the inside of the Door-way is of the disproportion here shown, but is eight feet, two inches, in width;—and, as is very remarkable, does not stand in the middle of the front wall, but has ten feet, three inches, on one side, and only nine feet on the other.—Nothing can appear more truly Saxon than the moulding over-head.—And the Arches on each side of the wall, whose bases are level with the top of the steps, at (a, b), have a Saxon irregularity; as well as those, so obviously Saxon, in the row above, (c, d).—These rows were evidently repeated, in a similar manner, in the upper part of the original wall, at (e, f), and (g, h); where there cannot be a doubt but that some of them were the only original windows in this wall.—They have, however, manifestly been cut away, to make room for the present great west window, inserted in Norman times. And the manner in which this was done, cutting the Arches (g), and (h), irregularly, in order to place it exactly in the middle, is singularly curious.

Here therefore we have a wall remaining, which has every appearance of being of the age of Paulinus;—and is, in its work-



Representation of the Inside of the Wall at the West End of the Cathedral at Rochester, shewing its antient Saxon Arches, and the mode of inserting the Great Window.

Published as the Act directs, Dec. 7. 1807.



manship, as utterly unlike to the Arches on the sides of the Nave, as it is to any works, or Arches, of *Gundulph's*, either in his Castle, or Treasury, or elsewhere.

And, as the great West Door of Rochester Cathedral, both on the outside, and inside, bears such evident marks of Saxon original, so in like manner does the part of the old Conventual Building, which now remains in ruins, and is said to have been the ancient front of the Chapter-house.

In the observations annexed to Mr. *Thorpe's* *Custumale Roffense*, they are supposed to be the work of Bishop *Ernulph*, a Successor of *Gundulph's*.—But as that ingenious writer frankly acknowledges such conclusion to be mere guess;—so indeed these Arches, in their design, and ornaments, are as totally unlike *Ernulph's* known works at *Canterbury*, as they are unlike those which are unquestionably *Gundulph's*, at *Rochester*, or elsewhere.

They are affirmed+ to have had, a few years ago, a Saxon inscription remaining upon them.—And (however that matter may have been) they certainly are adorned with a profusion of *designedly varied* grotesque ornaments, exactly in the oldest Saxon style, in small compartments; almost every stone being carved with some different resemblance.—Some persons have fancied certain of these to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac; and Mr. *Thorpe* was willing to believe that those on one side of an Arch, exactly resembled those on the other side of the same Arch; and has so represented them† in his engraving.—But neither the one nor the other appeared to me to be exactly the case.

In some part of the *Chapter-house*, from the words of *Venerable Bede*,‡ we have every reason to believe, *Paulinus* himself was buried, A. D. 644.

And as that circumstance plainly leads to a conclusion, that a

* P. 154.

+ See the History of Rochester, p. 97; where is a beautiful little representation of this fine fragment of antiquity.—There is one also, upon a larger scale, in Mr. Thorpe's account annexed to the *Custumale Roffense*, Pl. XXVII. p. 161.

† Pl. XXXVIII. p. 161, in his Additions to the *Custumale Roffense*.

‡ *Bede's* Historia, lib. iii. ca. 14. *Sepultusque est in Secretario beati Apostoli Andrea, quod Rex Aedilbert a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi civitate construxit.*

Structure of this kind, of no small note, existed here in the earliest Saxon period; so we still have in *these* walls, and in *these* Arches of the Chapter-house, as well as in the great West Door-way of the Cathedral, most visible remains, concurring, in every point, with the true style of *early Saxon Architecture* of the most ingenious kind.

But these Arches, it may be said, by some hasty observers, are built of what is called *Caen stone*.—The fact, merely from the *reddish colour* of the stones, does not appear to be absolutely a plain one. And I think I may venture to conclude, on the closest examination, that they are not *Caen stone*.—Allowing the stone, however, to be such; yet this would at most only tend to shew, (what has already been remarked, on another occasion), that the Saxons, in consequence of their continual intercourse with Normandy, imported *Caen stone*, long before the time of the Norman Conquest.

It has been with great judgment remarked, by the very curious Author of a most intelligent little work,* that whereas the antient Records give positive accounts of the Church having been *burnt*; and of the See (in the time of Archbishop *Theodore*) having been reduced to so wretched, and desolate a state, that its Bishop could not reside; yet we have no account of the Church being absolutely *rebuilt*, till the time of *Gundulph*: and therefore it is surely at least *probable*, that during the interval, the original walls remained; and that it was somewhat repaired, so as to have some part fit for the performance of divine service.

Offa, King of Mercia, and *Sigered*, King of Kent, and *Ethelbert*, King of Wessex, were great benefactors to this Church, between the year 760 and 780:† it would be strange, therefore, if some repairs were not added in their days.

But a more remarkable circumstance is; that *Ethelred the Second*, having besieged its Bishop in the City of *Rochester*; and having extorted an hundred pounds from him; (which was equivalent to much more than fifteen hundred pounds in these days); and having

* History and Antiquities of Rochester, p. 112.

† Monasticon, p. 27.

deprived the Church of some of its antient demesnes;* afterwards repented bitterly; and in consequence of such repentance, in the year 998, by a Royal Charter, made full restitution.—And on a beam of the roof, the fourth from the west end, in the old western part of the Nave, is to be seen marked to this hour, on both sides, the date 1014, which seems to indicate some great repair in that very age, made probably in consequence of bounties received from the penitent *Ethelred*.

Nor can it be deemed any sort of objection, that this date is in *Arabic* numerals; because the *Arabic* numerals were introduced so early as 970, or at least in 990,† by *Gerbert*, a Monk, who was afterwards made Pope, and took the name of *Sylvester the Second*.‡

Here, therefore, we have the plainest concurrence of facts, that could well be expected, to point out some great additions to, and repairs of the Building; in an age very near approaching to that of *Harold*;—whilst the Architecture itself of the great Nave, appears to be so very much in the style which just about that time prevailed.

It would be resisting the strongest evidence, therefore, not to conclude the great Nave to have been built nearly about the time of *Ethelred the Second*; and that *Gundulph's* great work, which was called a *rebuilding* of the Church, was rather a new Building of the *eastern part*, and of the Choir;—which was partly pulled down again, or at least much altered, to form the present Choir, built by *William de Hoe*, in the time of Henry the Third.

* Regist. Roff. p. 191.

† Henault, Vol. I. p. 126, places the first introduction of *Arabic numerals* about 990;—and further informs us, that this *Gerbert* was the first Inventor of *balance Clocks*, which continued in use till 1650, when pendulums were added as a further improvement.

‡ Du Pin Hist. Eccles. cent. 10, says he had been Preceptor to Robert the First, King of France, and to Otho the Third, Emperor of Germany; and was the first of the Christian Clergy who dared to search for some revival of science, even amongst the Saracens, who had been the destroyers of it.—And he adds, *this Phoenix, rising out of ashes, deserved the attention of all the world*.—Whoever reads the curious letter of *Aldhelm*, concerning the difficulty of learning *Arithmetic*, before the invention of these *Arabian numerals*, will perceive the whole force of this observation. See Montucla Hist. Mathemat. Tom. I. p. 339.—And Anglia Sacra, Tom. II. p. 6 and 7.

And this conclusion, it must be observed, agrees exactly with what is said of *Gundulph's* removing the body of *Paulinus*, from the old Church, into the new one,* A.D. 1084;—for it is highly probable, that the old *Saxon* Church consisted of little more than the present Nave: and that, therefore, the translation was merely from the old original Choir, (which was thenceforth to form only a part of the Nave) into a silver shrine, near the Altar of *Gundulph's* new Choir.

It is confirmed also, by the circumstance of *Gundulph's* Tower,†

* *Registrum Roffense*, p. 120. And see Mr. Thorpe's account of this translation; in the *Customale Roffense*, p. 153.

† Of this Tower, and of *Gundulph's* works, more will be said, in the succeeding pages.—I will here only just add, from a veneration for truth, and justice, that there is a very ungenerous misrepresentation of *Gundulph's* conduct, in *Lambard's* *Perambulation of Kent*; and an harsh judgment; which I honestly think ought to be reprov'd; as I cannot but deem *Bishop Gundulph* to have been one of those spirits of energy, who, with all his faults, by the help and blessing of the Almighty, endeavour'd, in the midst of darkness, to strike out light; even whilst, through the error of the times, he was perhaps unguardedly promoting superstition.—If his example had been followed, by those *Monks*, whom he too zealously encouraged; from a mistaken confidence in the effects of such sort of rules, and institutions; their establishment, as pious active men, (such as he wished them to be), might have continued;—and they would never have been driven out of the world.—The truth is, that many of them became vicious drones, instead of religious imitators of his exertions.

Lambard's uncharitable words, reviling the endeavours of *Gundulph*, in the most depressing terms,—are, “he never rested building, and begging, tricking, and garnishing, till he had advanced this (Monastery at *Rochester*), his creature, to the just wealth, beauty, and estimation, of a right popish Priory.”—*Perambulation of Kent*, p. 378. quarto ed. p. 300.

Some notice has been taken, in the preceding pages, (p. 26, 30), of the improvements made in *gardening*, and *cultivation*, by the first religious *Recluses*, and even by the *Monks*.—And such appear to have been made, in some degree, in the Monastery at *Rochester*; for in several Charters (in the *Regist. Roff.*) mention is made of the *Vineyard* belonging to the *Monks*, wherein grew great quantities of grapes; and which is also, in much later days, said, by *Wortledge*, to have produced excellent wines.—*Bishop Hamon*, (*Haymo de Heath*) presented some of the wine and grapes of his own growth, at *Halling*, to *Edward the Second*, when at *Bockinfold*; and it is an odd concurring circumstance, that in some old leases of the Bishoprick, mention has been found made, of considerable quantities of *blackberries* being delivered to the *Bishop of Rochester*,‡ by sundry of his *Tenants*, for the purpose of colouring the wine growing in his vineyard.—It both gives us some idea

‡ *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 326.

§ *History and Antiquities of Rochester*, p. 113.

or Treasury, being built near this Choir part; and by the style of the Architecture of that Tower, being so different from that of the other Towers at the west end of the Church.

It is further confirmed also, by the appearance of some parts of the Crypt: *—and there is the strongest reason to apprehend, that part of the *upper* walls, erected by *Gundulph*, were left standing, when the more modern Choir was constructed. †

The thickness (little less than six feet) of those which separate the Side Ailes from the Choir, indicate exactly *Gundulph's* massy style of building.

These walls are still quite solid throughout, on each side the

of what sort the wine was, and also, deserves well to be compared with that antient usage of *making wines*, in this country, the remembrance whereof is preserved, by means of some records of the reign of *Henry the Third*:—amongst which are two precepts; the one (Claus. An. 34 Hen. III.) to the Keepers of the King's Wines at Winchester, and the other (Claus. An. 36 Hen. III.) to the Keepers of the King's Wines at York, to deliver out, to one *Robert*, (*de Monte Pessulano*), such wines, and as much as he pleased, to make for the King's use, against the feast of Christmas, (*Claret*) such drink, as he used to make in preceding years.—The first Record says, *ad potus regis pretiosos delictos inde faciendos*.—The second says, *ad claretum inde faciend.*—*Ad opus regis—sicut annis preteritis facere consuevit*. And both may be seen at length in the late Lord Orford's *Anecdotes of Painting*, Vol. I. p. 11.—Perhaps it may not be undeserving notice, that even to the beginning of the last century, almost all red wine was, in this country, called *Claret*.

Honey, and *Mead*, constituted a part of the mixture of the Royal Norman *Claret*, and for several ages, *Claret* was considered as belonging to the *Materia Medica*;—and formed a part of the old English Apothecaries' store of medicines, preserved in white glazed earthen pitchers, with labelled inscriptions burnt in large blue letters in the ware; several of which are still preserved.—And in Wales, where old customs have longer remained than with us, I myself remember to have seen, at *Swansea*, an old Apothecary's shop, the shelves of which were entirely filled with rows of such old pitchers; some in the form of a very large pomegranate standing on a thick stem, and with a short spout; and of which, one or two were thus labelled, *Claret*.

Several other Monasteries, and Abbeys, had remarkable *Vineyards*, as well as *Rochester*;—particularly that at *St. Edmund's Bury*;—that at *Ely*;—that at *Peterborough*;—and even that at *Darley Abbey*, in *Derbyshire*:—and indeed most of the original *Vineyards* mentioned, are found to have belonged to Abbeys.—It is a curious circumstance, elucidating the *prices* of the age, that in the time of *Henry the Third*, a *Dolium*, or cask of the best wine, sold for forty shillings, and sometimes even for twenty.

* See Mr. Thorpe's account, p. 154, whose very interesting observations, appear to me, in reality, to confirm my ideas; though my conclusion is so different from his.

† See also p. 168.

Choir, as far as the eastern Transept; and as far up, as the upper windows.—And the Arches in *alto relievo*, and Pillars, or Pilasters of marble, placed against these walls, appear plainly to have been *mere ornamental additions*, to adorn it; added by *William de Hoe*; who, surely, in the days of *Henry the Third*, (when Westminster Abbey was built); would not have raised a mere blank, solid wall, on each side of his Choir.

The observation which every curious person must make, of there being no open Arches, to render the appearance of these walls light; or to form any communication with the Side Ailes; no not even in the upper part, above the stalls; must confirm this idea.

With regard to the great Nave, therefore, all that *Gundulph* seems to have done, if he did *any* thing there, was to raise the roof somewhat higher; still preserving, in the construction of it, the more antient beam, with the inscription, that has been mentioned.

And if he did even this; and really raised the roof; yet here also, an addition, and repair, seems to have been made, in *after* ages; as will be obvious to any one, who remarks the *precise form* of the Arches of the uppermost windows, and the very *irregular* manner in which they are placed, with respect to the Arches beneath.

As to the ornaments, in little square compartments, on the fronts of the middle tier of Arches, they resemble much rather the fancied varied designs of very early *Saxon* sculpture, which we have described in the preceding part of these sheets; than the ornaments of *Norman* times.* But yet, as they have not the strange hieroglyphic figures, which are generally found interspersed in the *Saxon* ornaments; it may perhaps be allowable to conclude, that these ornaments, together with the double Arches, which now fill up the great low Arches of *Ethelred's* time, in the middle tier, might be added, after the great fire, in 1177 or

* These varieties of the compartments, at Rochester Cathedral, are very well represented in Pl. XXIV. of Mr. Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, p. 154. But the Arches themselves are more accurately shewn in the annexed Pl. XLIX.

1179; from the effects of which, the great beam with the more antient date, might be saved, and be replaced where we now find it.

Mr. Thorpe apprehended, that the side walls, and the roof of the Nave, were both raised by the Bishops *Silvester*, and *Helyas*,* after that fire. But even the allowing *this* to have been a fact, would by no means invalidate the force of the preceding general conclusions.

From the form of the Arches of the upper windows, whose tracery is here omitted, it should seem, that these were at least altered, or completely finished, only about the time of *Henry the Sixth*; when the great window at the west end was inserted;—but the irregular manner in which they are placed, with respect to the Arches beneath, is very remarkable.

As to *Gundulph's* Choir, it seems not to have reached further than the eastern Transept: for all beyond is much lighter work, clearly of *William de Hoe's* age: and at the north end of that Transept, on the outside, may plainly be seen still remaining, the form of a very fine window, of the sort that was first introduced in the time of King *Stephen*.

To return to the consideration of the Nave, part of which is represented Pl. XLIX. we have here, as fully as at *Southwell*, in the lower Arches, and in the middle Arches, a specimen of the style of building, about the age of the *Harolds*, and of *Edward the Confessor*:—and here at *Rochester*, even the lower Pillars themselves appear to have been of that age.

In the third instance,—at *Waltham Abbey*,—we have a still more decided, and unquestionable specimen of *Harold's* Architecture; or rather of that of *Edward the Confessor*; and which has in itself the most characteristick marks of the rude sort of *retrogradation* of art, which took place about this period, in architectural skill.

How superstition, and the most blind depravity, in matters of religion, had gained ground, appeared too obviously a few years before; when, in a great council, held by *Ethelred*, A. D. 1014, at *Habham*, it was solemnly resolved, to practise some extraordinary devotions, in order to prevail upon the Saints, and Angels,

* In his addition to the *Custumale Roffense*, p. 165.

to fight against the Danes. And when, accordingly it was decreed, that every person of age, should fast three days on bread and water, and raw herbs, before the feast of St. Michael; and should confess, and go to Church barefoot: and that every Priest, with his whole congregation, should go in solemn procession barefoot; and that the Monks and Nuns should celebrate mass, against the Pagans, every canonical hour, lying prostrate on the ground, in which posture they were to sing a psalm.*

Such were become the effects of the extraordinary pains which *Dunstan* had taken, to reform religion, by introducing every where *Benedictine Monks*, in the room of the antient *Secular Clergy*, about 950.

The event, after all these prayers, and observances, was such, as might indeed very well be expected;—that in about three years time the Saxons were entirely subdued by the Danes.

Canute, the good effects of whose piety, appeared in making good laws; and in his well known rebuke of the flattery of his courtiers, at Southampton;† complied indeed with the prevalent ideas of the age, in building Monasteries, and in making a journey to Rome:‡ but was at the same time still more assiduous to encourage men of abilities, and valour;—amongst whom he found some deserving notice, who yet undoubtedly did not imitate his virtues.

Of these, one of the greatest was *Eatl Goodwin*, whose valour had been signally useful to *Canute*, in Denmark, against the Swedes;§ at the same time that his attachment to that Monarch, had been effectually manifested, by his accompanying *Canute*, with a considerable body of English troops, upon his return into his own Country.—Hence his ascendancy became so great in England, that having still further increased it, by his treachery towards poor Prince Alfred at Guilford,|| in order to strengthen the hands

* Spelm. Concil. Tom. I. p. 530. Johnson's Canons, A. D. 1014.

† Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 232. Higden, p. 276.

‡ Chron. Saxon. p. 152. W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11.

§ W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 11. Hen. Hunt. lib. vi.

|| R. Hoveden. Annal.—and Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. And see an account of this gross treachery, and cruelty, in the preceding pages of this Work, Vol. III. p. 230.

of the first *Harold*, the Son of Canute, he was able, on the death of *Hardicanute*, by his vast interest, and power, to be the principal means of raising *Edward the Confessor* to the Throne;* which he did, on condition that he should marry his Daughter.—And his influence he retained, with the utmost insolence, for above ten years, until his death.

Goodwin's Son, *Harold*, by most insinuating manners, excessive craft, great and successful valour, and by the aid of popularity, obtained an ascendancy over *Edward*, equal to that which his Father had.

Edward's love of ease induced him to submit to strengthen the power of *Harold*; but at the same time his strong prejudices, in favour of the superstition of the times, induced him to form a wish of converting *Harold* to a better frame of mind; as he could not but discern the difference between the real principles of that domineering favourite, and his own, notwithstanding all *Harold's* artful dissimulation.

With this sort of view, most evidently, (as appears even on the face of his charter),† he had granted to *Harold*, lands at *Waltham*, and the donation of many other lands, with *Sac* and *Sock*,‡ &c. expressly signifying, in the preamble of a subsequent charter, that “as the human mind sometimes emerges from worldly cares to serve its Creator, like a shooting grain of wheat that has been for a time suffocated by thorns; so, to produce a similar effect, he had granted to *Earl Harold*, a certain portion of land called *Waltham*, on purpose that he might think of attending to heavenly things; and not only become a worshiper of God, but also a zealous founder of a religious establishment, where strict canonical rules should be observed.”

And the Charter then recites, that, in consequence of this grant, *Harold* had built, on that spot, a Monastery, in honour of our Lord, and of an holy cross; and in memory of *Edward*, and his Queen *Editha*; and had endowed it also with still more lands.

* W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 13.

† Dugdale's Mon. v. ii. p. 11.

‡ That is, with power of holding courts for *Suit and Service*; and with power of holding pleas; and of imposing mulcts, and forfeitures, upon transgressors.

This Charter, signed by Edward himself, with the odd appellation of *Anglorum Basileus*,—by his Queen,—by Stigand, Archbishop of York,—and by other Bishops, and Abbots;—is dated A. D. 1062. And, therefore, it is evident the Abbey must have been built by *Harold*, a few years before, in consequence of the original donation, which has no date.

Such is the history of the rearing this curious, and most unquestionable Monument, of the style of Architecture during the reign of *Edward the Confessor*.

Pl. LI. is a representation of a part of the north side of the great Nave of the Abbey, now left standing; and which forms the present Parish Church.—The ornaments of the mouldings of the Arches, have some nice particularities, which will draw the attention of the curious; and could not well be represented on so small a scale.—But this general view, is sufficient to convey a characteristick idea of the whole.

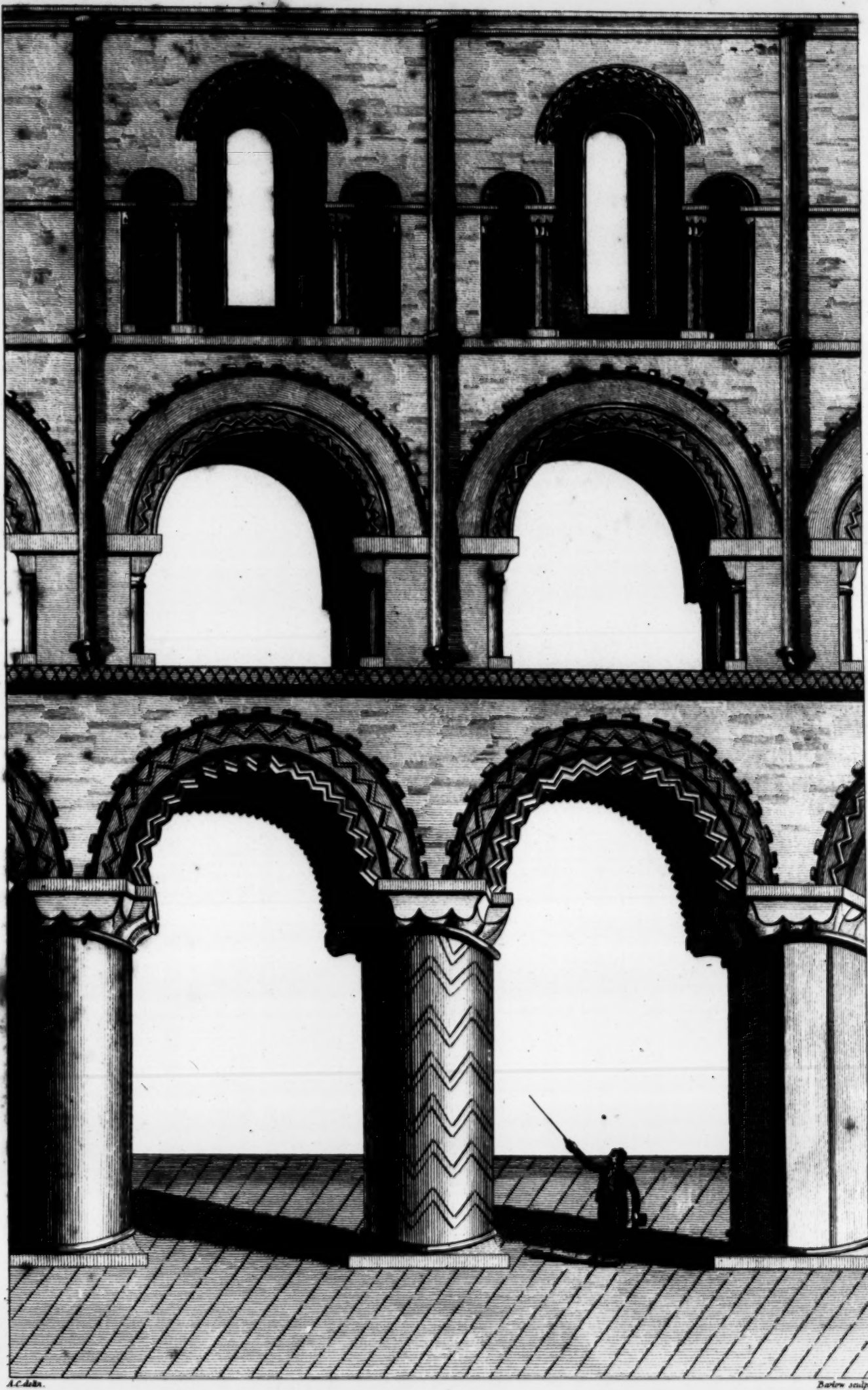
In the uppermost Arches, the indented moulding forms the very edge of each Arch; and is returned again underneath, on the inside, or under part of the Arch, in a way that could not be properly shewn in this view.

In the lowermost great Arches also, there is a return of indented workmanship, under each Arch:—and the indentations of the outermost mouldings, are much slighter, and in less relief, than those of the innermost.

Some of the great Pillars are ornamented with wreathed mouldings; such as were in use in earlier *Saxon* days:—and some with indented mouldings, of which one is shewn in Pl. LI.—But as to these mouldings having ever been filled with fillets of brass, (according to Fuller's idea),* there did not appear to me, (either from the grooves of the mouldings themselves, or from any remains of cavities for nails), to have been any sufficient grounds for such a surmise.

Pl. LII. shews the great Arch, that reaches up to the roof, at the east end of the Church; and which once supported a Tower:—and in both drawings, the figures, standing on the ground,

* At the end of his Church History.—See also Browne Willis, Vol. I. p. 193.



Part of the Ancient Nave of Waltham Abbey, Essex, the present Church.

Published as the Act directs by G. Nicol & Son Sept. 20th 1857

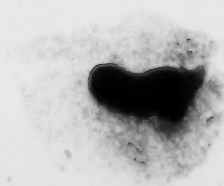
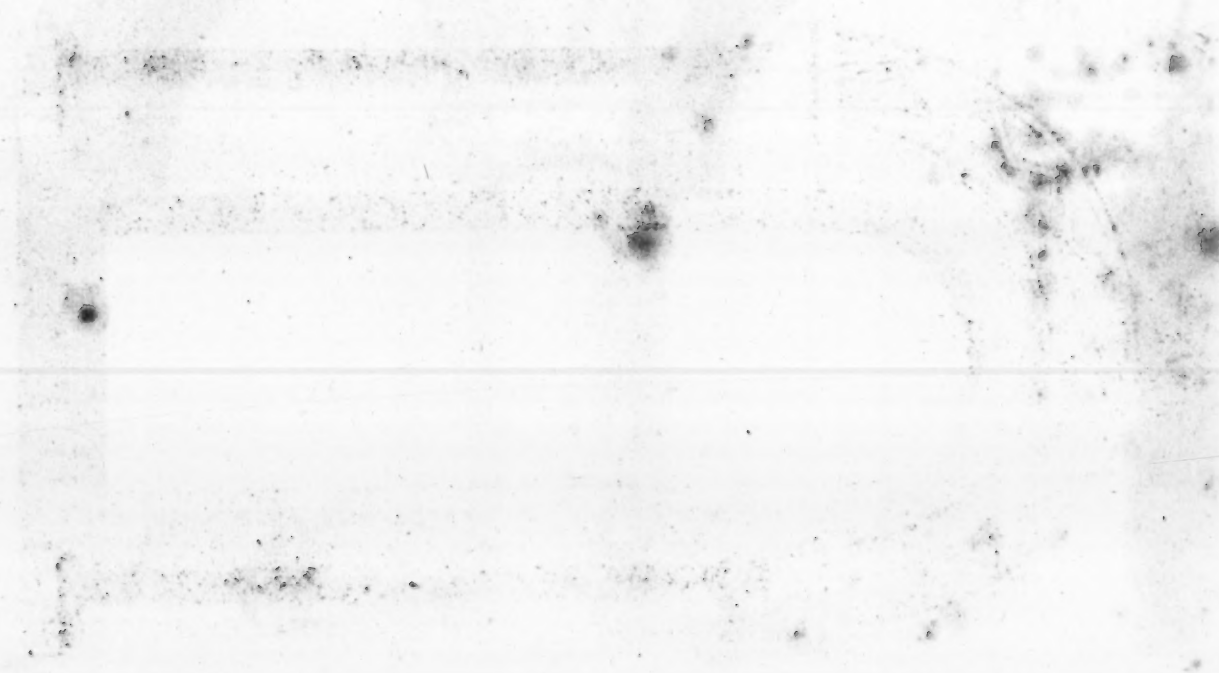


Fig. 1.

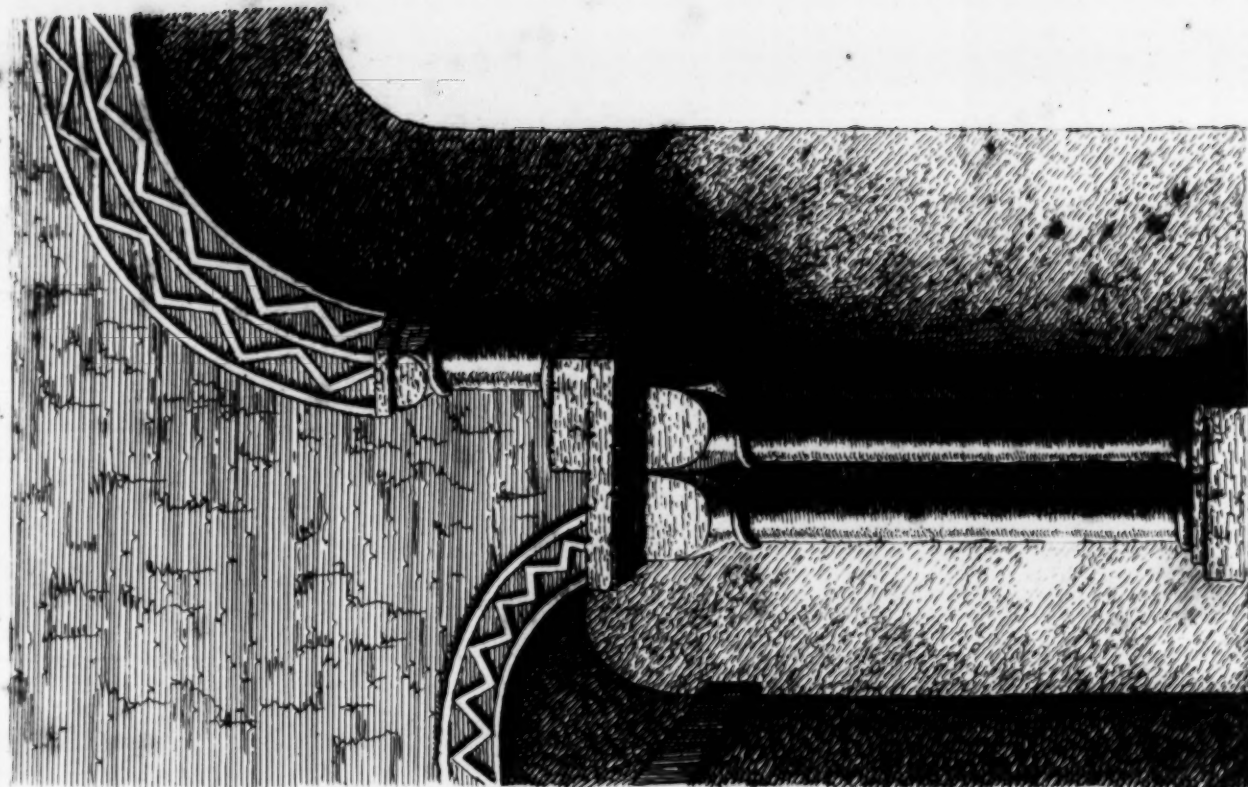
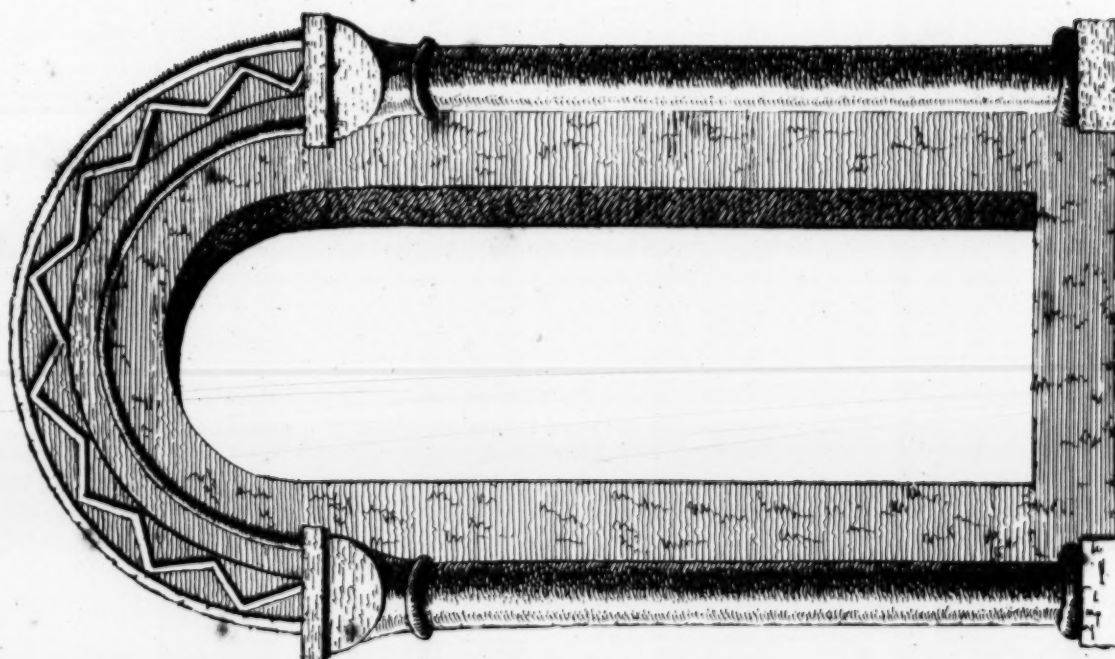


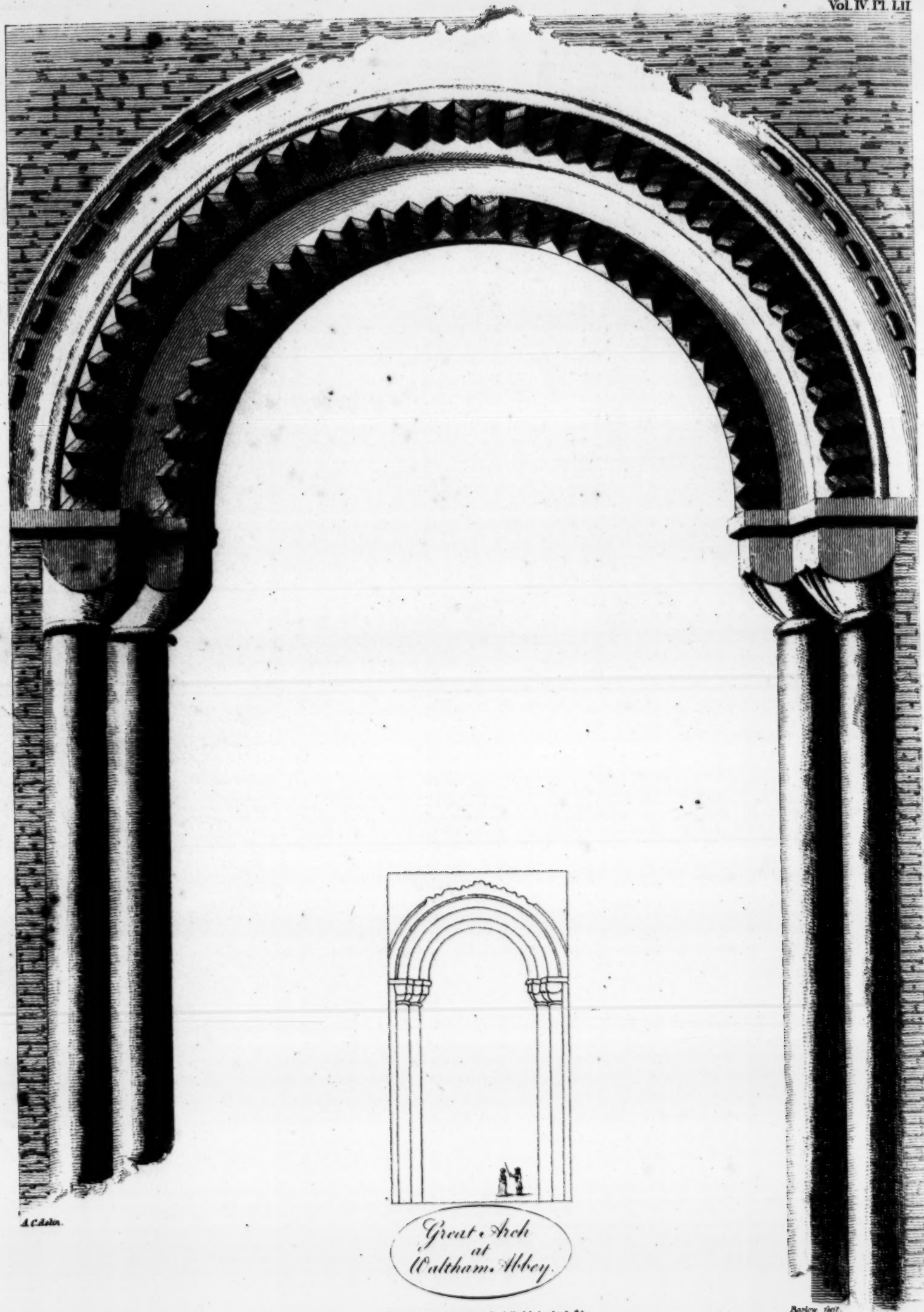
Fig. 2.



Surviv. Sketches at Waltham Abbey.

Published by the Rev. J. H. Sturt, Waltham Abbey.

See page 10.



beneath the Arches, will serve for a pretty exact scale, to measure all the proportions.

There is some further variety of Architecture, in different parts of the Church; as in all Saxon Buildings.—And Pl. LIII. Fig. 1, represents some of the Pillars and Arches above, on the other side of the antient Nave, opposite to that which is shewn in Pl. LI.

Whilst Pl. LIII. Fig. 2, represents one of *Harold's* windows of the Side Isle, on the south side.

All these, at the same time that they shew what was the style of Saxon Architecture, in *Harold's* time, and in that of *Edward the Confessor*, shew also how nearly that style of Architecture agreed with the first, and earliest Norman.

In this Abbey, at Waltham, *Harold* was unquestionably buried; his body having been conveyed hither, by the care of his Mother, *Gytha*;^{*} and of a small dejected remainder of the English Nobility, by the permission of the Conqueror; who had been prevailed upon, with many tears, and supplications.—But whether the Tomb which was supposed by *Mr. Fuller*⁺ to be his, was really such, is much to be questioned: as from the circumstance of the cross-fleury, with which it was adorned, it seems doubtful, whether it might not rather have been that of some Ecclesiastical person.

Whether it were so, or no, the following very affecting, plain narration, inserted in a very odd account of this Abbey,[‡] contains such an useful *memento* to every human being, that perhaps it ought not to be omitted, on the present occasion.

A stone Sepulchre, supposed to be that of *Harold*, was opened in a Garden belonging to the House built out of the ruins of the Abbey, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The opening is thus described:

^{*} Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 642.

⁺ Fuller's Church History, ad fin.—History of Waltham Abbey, by J. Farmer, p. 27.

[‡] An account written by a Mr. Thomas Smith, inserted in Farmer's History of Waltham Abbey, p. 25.

" The Gardener discovered a fair marble stone,—the cover of a
 " Tomb hewed out in hard stone.—This cover, with some help,
 " he removed from off the Tomb; which having done there
 " appeared to the view the anatomy of a man lying in the Tomb,
 " the bones remaining, bone to his bone, and not one bone
 " dislocated.—In observation whereof, says the writer, we won-
 " dered to see the bones still remaining in such due order, and
 " no dust or other filth besides them to be seen in the Tomb.
 " We could not conceive it had been an anatomy of bones only,
 " laid at first in the Tomb; yet if it had been the whole carcass of
 " a man, what became of his flesh, and entrails? for the Tomb
 " was clean from all besides the bones.—This when we had all
 " observed, I told them, that if they did but touch any part
 " thereof, that all would fall asunder; for I had heard somewhat
 " formerly of the like accident.—Trial was made, and so it came
 " to pass.—And I am persuaded, that as the flesh of this anatomy
 " was to us become invisible, so likewise would the bones have
 " been, in some longer continuance of time. *O what is man then,*
 " *which vanisheth thus away, like unto smok or vapour, and is no more*
 " *seen?*—Whosoever thou art, that shall read this passage, thou
 " mayst find cause of humility sufficient.

This curious passage, is here the rather inserted, thus at length,
 because it may perhaps tend to fling light upon a circumstance
 not sufficiently adverted to, but which seems to have been noted
 by the ancients, *the property which seems to be in some kinds of stone*
and marble, to dissolve the human frame;—from whence those sort
 of Sepulchres, amongst the Greeks, and Romans, seem to have
 derived the very name of *Sarcophagi*, or *devourers of flesh*.

Probably it is a chemical process, somewhat similar to that
 well known one, of quick lime consuming the whole still more
 rapidly.

As we have thus seen instances of the style of building, which
 prevailed about the age of *Edward the Confessor*, in this Church of
Harold's, at *Waltham*;—and also at *Southwell*;—and even at
Rochester;—so it well deserves to be remarked, that in the *old*
St. Paul's, in that part which was towards the west end, and

which is so beautifully represented, in a fine engraving by *Hollar*.* there seem to have been decidedly remains of the same sort of Architecture.

In the *Parentalia*,† we find, that Sir Christopher Wren was led to conclude, both from records, and observations, that an original Cathedral was first built at *London*, in the very area of the Roman *Prætorian Camp*; which Church was rebuilt, or repaired, in the time of *Constantine*; and was most probably reared after the pattern of a Roman Basilica, (as was the Church of St. Peter, and St. Paul, in the Vatican, at Rome).

That afterwards, in the seventh century, another Church was reared, on the same foundations, by *Mellitus*, Bishop of London, in the time of *Ethelbert*, King of Kent.

That after a great fire, in 1088, there was a thorough repair, and re-edification, by *Mauritius*, Bishop of London; who obtained, of King *William*, the stones of an antient Tower, in the neighbourhood, for the purpose.

These stones, it is obvious, could not be sufficient for any thing more than a considerable repair.—And therefore we may fairly conclude, that a great part of the walls of the old Church certainly remained, capable of being again used.

With regard to these, Sir Christopher Wren observed an obvious difference in the masonry.—He also observed, that the original old Church, seemed to have extended no further towards the east, than where what he calls the Gothic Choir began;—which latter he concluded to have been added, about the time of *Richard the First*:—and that, with regard to the first old Church, there seemed to have been a considerable addition towards the west end; but in what age was not ascertained.

Now this addition, from what appears of its style, in *Hollar's* fine print, I cannot but conclude to have been made, in the time of *Edward the Confessor*.

And this idea appears to be much strengthened, by the account

* Inserted in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral, p. 160, from a drawing made in 1658.

† Wren's Parentalia, p. 271.

of the great Benefactors to this Church.—For concerning *Ethelbert*, King of Kent, by whom Dugdale says* *St. Paul's* was built, whilst *Sebert* reigned under him in this tract of country, we are informed, that he gave to it the Manour of *Gillingham* in *Essex*. And after this no real *Royal benefactors* are recorded, till King *Athelstan*; King *Edgar*; and King *Edward the Confessor*; and all these gave liberally.—In their times, therefore, and especially in that of *Edward the Confessor*, (if he gave so liberally) we may fairly conclude, were the greatest additions, and repairs;—and we may, therefore, well be induced to believe, that the Building, at the west end, (so very much in the style of *Waltham*, and *Southwell*), was indeed of that age:—though, being so near the time of the subsequent repair of the Church, by *Mauritius*, under King *William*, it has been considered, in general, as a part of that work.

And it well deserves notice here, that Sir Christopher *Wren* observed the very same sort of *irregularity*, in point of Architecture, in these foundations, at *St. Pauls*, with that which I have mentioned as being worthy of attention, in the Pillars at *St. Albans*.—His words are,† “the Builders valued not exactness: some “inter-columns were one inch and an half too large; others as “much, or more, too little. Nor were they true in their levels. “They made great Pillars, without any graceful manner; and “thick walls without judgement.”

Of the same style of building exactly may we conceive *Westminster Abbey* to have been, as reared by *Edward the Confessor*: in attending the long ceremony of the dedication of which, before its walls were fitly dry, there is much reason to believe he caught that illness, which occasioned his death.

On the authority of an antient manuscript, mentioned by *Camden*, it is described, by him, in a manner that much authorises these conclusions: though the words of that antient manuscript are so very differently translated, by *Camden's* different Editors,† as to occasion some degree of obscurity.

* Dugdale's History of *St. Paul's*, p. 3, 4, 5. † Parentalia, p. 273.

‡ See Holland's *Camden*, p. 429. Gibson's *Camden*, p. 313. Gough's *Camden*, Vol. II. p. 7.

It is plainly described, however, as a Church, "having on both sides a double Arch (*or rather two rows of Arches*) of stones, of square work firmly cemented, the joints answering one another."

And Holinshed says,* on the authority of Simon Dunelm, it was a *paterne* for others to be built after. Which expression plainly points out a most marked uniformity, between this Structure, and others of the same age.

King Edward having devoted the tenth of all his Royal domains, and possessions, towards the carrying on of this work, from about the year 1045;—having endowed the Church with many lands, and great privileges;—having appointed it the repository of the Royal vestments, and regalia, (a great part of which were his gift);—having declared it the designed place of his burial;—and having bestowed upon it a very numerous collection of what were deemed precious relics;—to add to the honour and splendour of its *Dedication*, in the year 1066, convoked a general assembly of the Nobles, and Clergy, to be present on the occasion.—But before the ceremony of its consecration was finished, he was taken grievously ill;† and his indisposition most rapidly increased.—Returning home, he was instantly confined to his bed; and after three days expired.—The very next day, January the fifth, (according to the dangerous, and superstitious practice of the age) he was entombed, in Royal state:—the very same great assembly who had attended him at the consecration,§ so few days before, attending him to his grave.—From whence, on the rebuilding of the Church, by *Henry the Third*, his body was removed to a most magnificent shrine;—and was placed, itself as a relick, amongst the relicks, which *Edward* himself had prepared.

The manner in which all these kinds of revered remains, from the nobly enshrined entire corps, on its high pedestal, to the meanest little separate bone, were usually kept, appears fully from the curious inventory given us by Dugdale,|| of the little chests, and caskets, of rich wood; of ivory; of copper; and of work-

* Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 195.

+ Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 60.

‡ Ingulphus.

§ Chron. Saxon. p. 171.—W. Malms. lib. ii. ca. 13.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vi.—Hoveden Annal.

|| Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 235.

manship adorned with covering of silk; together with *fixes* of gold, and silver; and with vessels of glass;—all of which belonged to the old Cathedral of St. Paul.

In what manner the superstitious practice, of paying religious attention to relicks, was first introduced, and crept in by slow degrees, has been remarked in the preceding pages.*—But how very far the *British Clergy* were from considering them, as *objects of worship*, in the manner in which they were revered, (as well as the remains of *Edward*), in later days, appears from a remarkable passage in *Mathew of Westminster*,†—who bears testimony, that when the *Pagan Saxons* committed their dreadful ravages on the Church; *Theonus* the last *British Bishop* of London, concealed the relicks of the Saints, *not with any superstitious view*, but merely to preserve the remembrance of the persons.

And that even *Edward* himself, had less gross apprehensions, on these subjects, than the Clergy of his own times; and more sincerity in his religious intentions; appears from the curious, though legendary tale of his vision,‡ before his death; for therein he is represented, as honestly lamenting *the irregularities* of the Bishops, and Abbots; whilst *Archbishop Stigand*, who stood by, made a jest of his words, and considered him as being in a delirium.

Having thus traced down the progress of *Saxon Architecture*, as far as relates to religious Structures, from the small, and trimly decorated Churches of *Archbishop Theodore's* time, to the massy Piles of the age immediately preceding the Conquest; it remains only just to refer to one or two of those still more magnificent *Norman Piles*, in which *detached* fragments of the *Saxon* age, similar to those we have been describing, are yet to be met with, *confounded, and overwhelmed* with the Architecture of subsequent ages.

And amongst the first of these, it is almost impossible to avoid mentioning the old part of the front of *Lincoln Cathedral*.

In this point I am sorry to differ, a little, from so respectable authority as that of *Mr. Essex*; but it is such a slight sort of

* In this Volume, p. 39.

† Math. Westm. p. 199.

‡ Holinshed, Vol. I. p. 195, from Wm. Malmsb. and Math. Westm.

difference, that I am persuaded, had he been living, he would hardly have allowed it to be a departure from his real sentiments; and would perhaps have soon acceded to the very same conclusions, to which, it will be found, I have been almost unavoidably led.

We both agree, that the middle, lower part, of the west front, is unquestionably the most *antient* part of the whole Building:—but he carries its date no higher than the age of *William Rufus*, A. D. 1088, and thinks it* the remains of the Church built by *Remigius*, the last Bishop of Dorchester, and first Bishop of Lincoln.—The account given by *Dugdale*,† of the first establishment of a Bishop's See here, and of lands purchased by *Remigius* for that purpose, led *Mr. Essex* to this conclusion, and to look no further back.—But as the Architecture is very unlike that plain style, which we find *uniformly* in the Structures of the age of *William Rufus*, or of *Henry the First*, either at *Norwich*, or at *Ely*, or any where else; and is in perfect consonancy with the *old Saxon* style; in the studied *variety, and dissimilarity, of the apparently corresponding parts* of the little Pillars, Pilasters, and ornamental Arches; and as Venerable Bede so positively asserts, that *Paulinus*, in the year 628, built a Church of stone of admirable workmanship, in the City of *Lincoln*, whose walls remained firm in his days, above an hundred years afterwards, notwithstanding the roof had been destroyed; I cannot but conclude, that some part at least of this very curious front, which had, in *Bede's* time, defied the devastation of the first ruin; defied also the depredations of later ages; and was preserved by *Remigius*, on account of its beauty, whatever additions he might make to it.

Instead, therefore, of considering the front of *Lincoln Cathedral*, as consisting merely of the Architecture of *two ages*: that of *Remigius*, in the central part; and that of *Hugh de Wells*, in the time of *Henry the Third*, in the sides, and upper part;‡ I cannot but consider the whole, as containing indeed remains of no less than *three ages*.—The sides, and upper part, (as *Mr. Essex* supposes)

* *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 150.

† *Dugdale*, Vol. III. p. 257.

‡ *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 154.

of the age of Henry the Third;—but the central part containing, both the original walls, and door-ways, and some of the ornamental Arches, of the early Saxon age, in the days of *Paulinus*; as well as the *Norman* reparations, and additions, of *Remigius*, in the reign of *William Rufus*.

The remarkable words of Bede are: * “*Prædicabat autem Paulinus verbum etiam provinciæ Lindissi, quæ est prima ad meridianam Humberæ fluminis ripam, pertingens usque ad mare, Præfectumque Lindocolinæ civitatis, cui nomen erat Blaecca, primum cum domo sua convertit ad Dominum.—In qua videlicet civitate, et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit: cujus tecto vel longa incuria, vel hostili manu dejecto, parietes hactenus stare videntur.*”

“*Paulinus* preached also the word, in the province of Lincoln, which is the first on the southern bank of the river Humber, reaching even to the Sea;—and he converted first of all the Præfect of the City of Lincoln, whose name was *Blaecca*, and his household, to the Lord. In this very City he also built a Church of admirable workmanship of stone: whose roof, either by long neglect, or by some hostile hand being destroyed, the walls yet are seen to stand firm.”

* Bedæ Historiæ Eccles. lib. ii. ca. 16.

† This venerable Father of English History, to whom we have had occasion, in this part of our enquiries, so often to refer, always describes plainly, and without disguise, things as they were understood at the time; and therefore, both without concealment, and without offence to those amongst whom he lived, gives us to understand, how *Superstition* prevailed.—Of this there is a very remarkable instance, in the words immediately following those above referred to.—For, continuing his account of the original walls of Lincoln Cathedral, which in the midst of its ruins remained firm, he adds,—“*et omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum qui fideliter querunt ostendi.—And every year, in the same place, some miracles of healing are wont to be shewn, for the aid of those who faithfully seek it.*”—Bede resided very much in the Monastery of *Jarrow*, near Newcastle, in Northumberland. And in the Vestry of *Jarrow* Church is still preserved the great wooden armed chair, in which he used to sit, and in which most probably he wrote a great part of his History.—The rudeness of the workmanship, and the fashion of it is exceedingly remarkable, and curious.—It is represented in the Antiquarian Repertory, (Vol. I. p. 164),—and it deserves well to be compared with that in which *Eadwin*, the Monk of Canterbury, is represented sitting, and writing, according to the delineation in a very old manuscript on vellum, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, from which is made the engraving in the *Monumenta Vetusta*.—And it deserves no less to be

And indeed, besides the very great probability that *stone walls*, which had stood so firm unto *Bede's* time, should continue very firm to the days of *Remigius*; and so firm as to be made a part of his Building; just as we have seen the old *Saxon* walls of the first Cathedral at Canterbury, remained firm enough to be made a part of *Lanfranc's* Building, about the same age; besides this great probability, the many *Saxon* Arches found in several parts of Lincoln, and the preservation of the still unquestionably more antient *British Roman Gate*, at that place, might well give us a reasonable expectation, of finding some remains of an old *Saxon* Church here, rather than in almost any other place whatever.*

Another Building, that much deserves to be referred to, on this occasion, is *Rumsey Church, in Hampshire*; where *Edward* the Elder built a Monastery, which was changed, by King *Edgar*, into a Nunnery, under the government of *Merwenna*, the first Abbess.† —Here were buried *Edward the Elder*; his Son *Alfred*; and his Daughter *Eadburga*.—And here, therefore, we might most reasonably expect to meet with fine remains of *Saxon* Architecture:—and such indeed there are, in various parts of the Building: but they are so intermixed now with Architecture of the age of *Henry the First*, as to occasion some degree of confusion, to any unexperienced eye.—Those, however, who have been accustomed to observe the peculiarities, and precise distinctions of the *old Saxon*, will soon discern the difference.

The same may be said of *Peterborough Cathedral*; where are remains not only of what was built, and added, by *Ethelwold*,

compared with the Prior of Southwick's chair in Hampshire;—and with the Dunmow chair;—and the chair in which Queen Mary was crowned at Winchester.—All these are represented in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. IV. p. 181, 226; and do curiously shew the changes of fashion.

* There is a very imperfect representation of this front, by Daniel King, in the Monasticon. And there is another, somewhat better, on a larger scale, by Vivares, published in 1750.—But neither are accurate enough to shew properly the curious distinction, with regard to the *Saxon* Architecture, that may easily be discerned, by the eye, on the spot.—Some of the *semicircular* round Arches, are even made to appear as if they were pointed.

† Tanner, 157. Gough's Camden, Vol. I. p. 135.

Bishop* of Winchester, A. D. 960;—but also of the original Structure erected by *Peada*,† King of the Mercians, A. D. 654.‡

And in like manner, at *Durham*, there are, in some of the antient round massy Pillars, evident remains even of the original *Saxon Church*.

As to *Croyland*,§ which was first built by King *Ethelbald*, in 716; and rebuilt by King *Edred* in 948; in an insulated fenny spot, about four miles long, and three in breadth, equally celebrated, by monkish historians, for its horrid surrounding bogs, and marshes; and for its ugly frightful dæmons, by whom it was supposed to be haunted;|| there are unquestionably, amongst its ruins, other *Saxon* remains:—but its celebrated *triangular Bridge*, mentioned so early, as in *Edred's* Charter,¶ would deserve notice, above all the rest;—if that which still exists, could in reality be (as it is esteemed by many to be) the work of *Saxon* times.—This Bridge** forms the communication of three streets, that meet in a point, where three streams also met:—and it is therefore formed of *three segments, or quadrants, of circular Arches, that meet, and join at the top*.—From these Arches, rising so high as to form such a steep ascent, and descent on every side, that only *foot passengers* can go over; and from its being impossible to view *any two* of the Arches, otherwise than in an *oblique* direction, at the same time; the Arches formed by the meeting of these segments of circular Arches, have all the appearances of *pointed Arches*:

* Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. I. p. 70.

† Ib. Vol. I. p. 63, 64.—Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 43.

‡ Mr. Gough, in his edition of Camden, Vol. II. p. 185, says the Nave was built some time between the years 1177, and 1199.—But if we consider that then it must have been built in the reign of *Richard the First*, and after pointed Arches, and a much finer style of Architecture had been introduced, this is much to be doubted.

§ Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 164. Views are wanted of the few remaining *Saxon* parts of *Croyland*.—Nothing can be so bad as those in Dugdale's Monasticon.

|| Camden, Vol. II. p. 223.—Possibly the *Ignes fatui*, of marsh-lands, might encourage, or even give occasion to this idea.

¶ Ingulphus, p. 42. Stukely, Vol. I. p. 32.

** This Bridge is engraved in the *Itinera Curiosa*, Pl. VII. and in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1751, p. 296.—And there is a ground plot of it, in that for April 1763, p. 179.

but after all, *they are not such in reality*, (any more than the Arches in the Well Room at Oxford Castle,* that have been already mentioned).—They much deserve, however, to be considered with attention; whether they have been, as may justly be suspected, rebuilt in *Norman* times; or whether they really be of *Saxon* Architecture; for their *combination* at least forms a specimen, that in either instance might very well give one of the *first* ideas of the *pointed Arch*.—On that foot of the Bridge which faces the London road, a statue of *Ethelbald* is placed, in a sitting posture.

To this spot, rendered in the estimation of many, in the earliest ages, so delightful, by its possession of a Library larger than was to be found elsewhere; by its perpetual verdure; by a little help of newly introduced gardening; and by its protected insular situation;—to this spot *Turketul*, the Son of *Ethelbald*, Brother of King *Edward* the Elder, great Chancellor of *Edred*, about A. D. 950, and the great friend of *Dunstan*, retired;—and here he formed a set of rules, for the future government of the Monastery, which are a special proof of the easy perversion of good intentions; and of the prevailing ideas, and prejudices of that age.—Rules, which manifestly proceeded from a pious, humble disposition of mind; and from a love of order, and peace, and virtue; but which had, in their own nature, a most special tendency,† to make men hypocrites, and blockheads: and do obviously betray even a latent confession, that the offices of religion, such as were to be performed at their monastick devotions, were indeed grievous burdens; instead of being, as all religious worship ought to be, the willing, glad, and awful offerings, of thankful, and sincere hearts, and of the desires of ready minds.

Turketul, who had both taken upon him the habit of a Monk, and was made Abbot of Croyland by *Edred*, took a survey of the whole insulated, blessed inclosure, (as it was then deemed), attended by three of the most antient Monks, in a waggon: and

* See in this Volume, p. 202.

† An account of these rules may be seen, in Stevens's Additions to Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 360, from Ingulphus.

being shewed by them the boundaries thereof, caused stone crosses to be set about, as landmarks;—the inscription upon one of which has caused so much dispute amongst modern Antiquaries.*

Whether *Aio*, meant *Father Aio*, (or, *Aio, I say*),—I will not presume to determine.—But, if the Monks were so very old, as they are reported to have been, I will be bold to conclude, that the insulated Garden, of Alders, Willows, and Rushes, at Croyland, (whether it also was, or was not a Vineyard, or whether any grapes actually grew there, or no), was not quite so unhealthy a spot, as we are apt to conceive such a marshy, fenny, boggy situation must have been.—One of the Brothers, when he died, is said to have been 168, or at least 148 years of age;—the other 142 years of age;—and the third 115.†

Mr. *Bentham*,‡ with great judgment, adduces the building of this Monastery of *Croyland*, in Lincolnshire, by King *Ethelbald*, in A. D. 716, as an unquestionable proof of the usual fashion of building sacred Structures, *with stone*, in that age.

“The soil, he says, was marshy, and not well able to support
“a fabric of stone: in which circumstances a timber Building
“might be thought most expedient on account of its lightness,
“had such been generally used in that age. However, we find §
“the King caused a vast number of large oaken piles to be driven
“into the ground, and more solid earth to be brought in boats
“nine miles by water, and laid thereon, to make it the more
“sound and commodious for building; and then laid the founda-
“tion of the Church of stone, which he finished.”

We are informed by *Ingulphus*, that there were, in *Saxon* times, an unusual number of well-wrought jewels of gold, and silver, in this Monastery at *Croyland*.||—And the ability of the Saxons,

* See *Archæologia*, Vol. III. p. 96.—Vol. V. p. 102.

† See the extracts from *Ingulphus*, in *Stevens's Additions to Dugdale*, p. 361. And it deserves to be remembered, that Mr. *Pennant* affirms, there was, in the comfortless Islands of the *Hebrides*, a man who lived to the age of 180.—See his *Voyage*, p. 214.

‡ *History of the Conventual Church of Ely*, p. 25.

§ *Ingulphi Hist. Croyland*, p. 4.—*Chronicon Mailres*,—*Simeon Dunelm*,—and *Hoveden ad annum 741*.

|| *Ingulphi Hist.* p. 8, 11, 22, 27.

and even their extraordinary excellence, above other people, in those days, in such kind of works, has been already mentioned.*

The several specimens of *Saxon, Ecclesiastical Structures*, that have now been referred to, are sufficient to elucidate the present subject; and to shew clearly the precise distinction of the Architecture of one age from that of another.—Many, very many more might be enumerated;—but the enumeration here would be tedious:—they must be passed by therefore, and left for the contemplation of those, who, perhaps, by the perusal of these very sheets, may be led to a more deep attention to such objects; and may, by curious additional dissertations, help to fling still more light upon this interesting subject.

Enough, perhaps, has now been remarked, to clear the way:—and it is only needful to observe, as a *new*, and though obvious, yet hitherto unnoticed circumstance, that *Saxon Ecclesiastical Architecture*, may most justly be considered, as having had *three very different stages*, and periods of its existence:

- namely—1. *The early Saxon*;—or dawning Saxon.
 2. *The full Saxon*;—or perfect Saxon.
 3. *The declining Saxon*;—or last Saxon; liable to be confounded with the Norman.

And the *criteria*, by which Buildings, belonging to these several periods, may be distinguished, are very remarkable.

The first, and earliest Saxon Architecture, in Churches, draws our attention by the *multitude* of the minute, and *designedly varied* ornaments, of the several parts.—A characteristick specimen of which, may be seen in *Barfreston Church*, in Kent.

The second kind, appears more bold, and in a more noble style, with *less numerous* ornaments:—but still with much *variety* in the adornments—of which there are most striking instances, in the Cathedral of *Christ Church*, in Oxford;—and in *Canute's* great Gate at *St. Edmund's Bury*, in Suffolk.†

* See in this Volume, p. 65. And see also *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 47, 68.

† Of this there is a representation, in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. III. p. 1.

And the third, and last kind, is manifested, both by its clumsy, stately magnificence, on a greater scale, and in greater proportions;—and by its having cast off so much of *varied ornament*, that it is difficult to be distinguished from the *first plain Norman*; saving that the *first Norman* had still larger proportions.—And the specimens at *Southwell*, and *Waltham*, are sufficient to elucidate this fact.

The first species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from the conversion of Egbert, King of Kent, about A. D. 598; and from the first building of Archbishop *Theodore's Churches*; to the time of King Alfred, about A. D. 872.

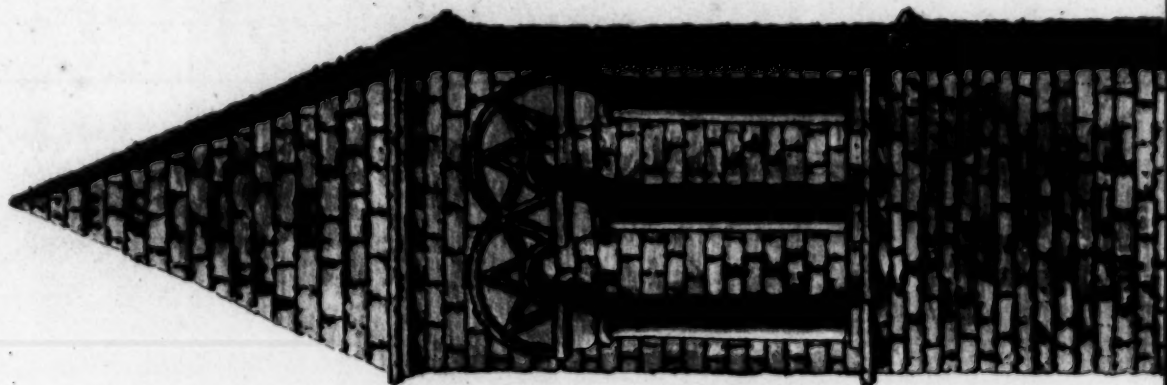
The second species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from the days of *Alfred*, through those of *King Canute*; and till the time of the first *Harold*, about 1036.

And the last species of *Saxon Architecture*, continued from that time, to the Conquest.

During all these days, a little increasing degree of magnificence, appeared in Sacred Structures;—a little pomp, and shew, in lordly Castles;—but whilst tyranny, superstition, and ignorance reigned triumphant, as little comfort as might well be, (except as it were by stealth), was afforded either to gloomy Recluses; (though they had more than the rest of the world):—less to lordly possessors of Castles; eaten up by their rude train of vassals, and dependants:—and still less, to the wretched inhabitants of such hovels, as formed, almost the only *private dwellings* of those days.—Let subsequent ages reflect, and be thankful.



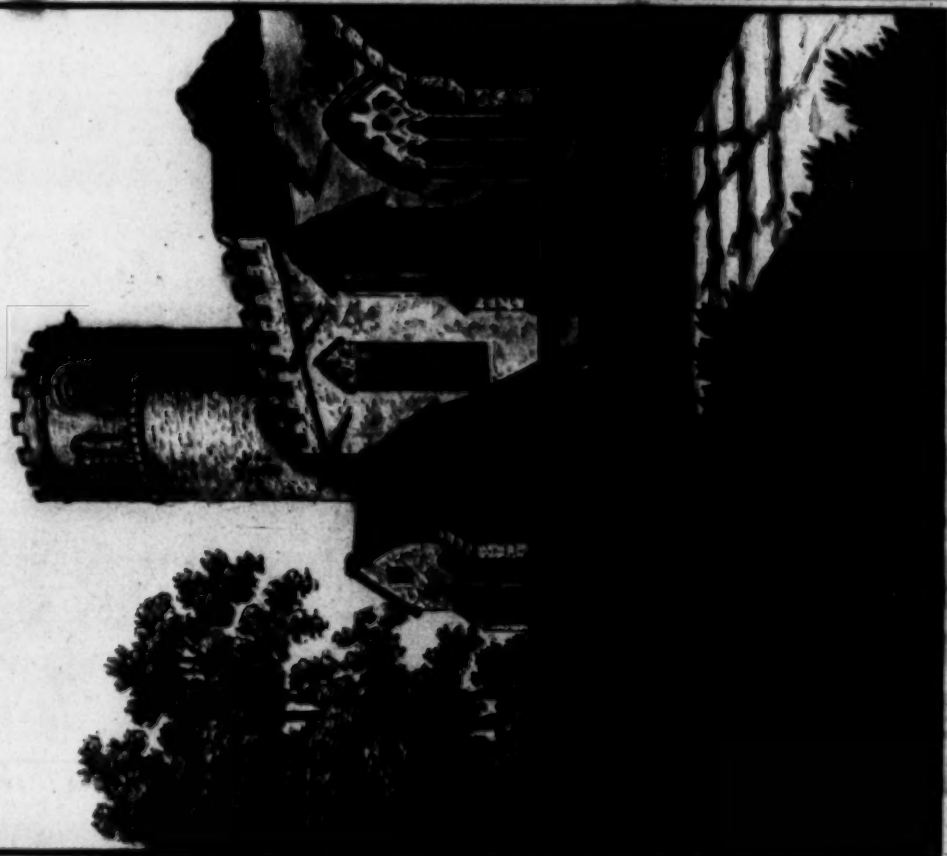
F.1



A.C.

Saxon Tower at Cleeve

F.2



J.C. Stedler sculp.

Saxham Church

MUNIMENTA ANTIQUA.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING PILLAR TOWERS.

Let us now just turn our attention to some most singularly strange, and odd Structures, that during the periods to which we have been attending, arose in some of those parts of Ireland, that were first converted to Christianity:—and in some of the northern parts of Great Britain.

The Structures I refer to, are called *Pillar Towers*.—Resembling in reality mere *Pillars*, much more than *Towers*;—and being indeed never joined to Buildings, either Churches or other, but standing quite separate, except in one or two instances, where very modern erections have formed a junction.

The knowledge of their original use, and destination, has long been buried in the utmost obscurity,—and various have been the conjectures formed, concerning them.—But a serious attention to history;—and a fair comparison of them, with accounts in the early parts of Ecclesiastical History, may clear the matter up.

They have sometimes been deemed *Penitential Towers*; wherein persons were to perform hard penances.

They have sometimes been thought mere *Stations*, each for the placing of a *centinel*, with an horn, or trumpet, to watch against marauding invaders, who were in those tracts to be hourly expected, even to assail, most of all, at the times of divine worship.

And they have sometimes been thought *Bidding Towers*,—for a proper officer to ascend, at regular times, *to bid to prayers*, or to summon the congregation, by *loud crying*, before the use of bells; in a manner similar to the usual summons from the *Minarets*, in Mahometan countries.

Perhaps the truth may be, that at different periods, they occasionally answered all three purposes.

But there is a more interesting, and more rational account that may be given of their origin, when we have first, carefully described the peculiarities of their Architecture;—and have just mentioned that they are found in these western parts of the world, almost solely in *Ireland*, and in *Scotland*;—and even there, in such counties as were once, even more than others, full of rapine, bloodshed, violence, and superstition:—whilst, perhaps, the best reason that can be assigned for their being found at all, in *Scotland*, where there are but a few of them, is, that they were built, either in consequence of the migration of some *Irish* into *Scotland*;—or else as a consequence of the preaching of *Columba*, who himself taught amongst the *Picts*;—or even of *St. Patrick*, who was by birth a Scotchman; and whose acquaintance with the use of such Buildings we shall find may be accounted for.*

They are always round;—and built of stone.—Their diameter, at bottom, is generally about fifteen feet; or from forty-two, to forty-eight feet in circumference.—And within, the diameter is seldom more than eight feet.—But they are from seventy, to above an hundred feet in height.†—The door of entrance, is generally from eight to twelve, or even fifteen feet from the ground; without either steps, or stairs, or any means of ascending up to it, except by an occasional ladder, that might, for security, be drawn up after him, by any one ascending.—All beneath this door is sometimes of solid stone work: but from hence upwards, within side, the whole is hollow, having, in a few instances, stone abutments in the walls, all round, to rest timbers upon, for

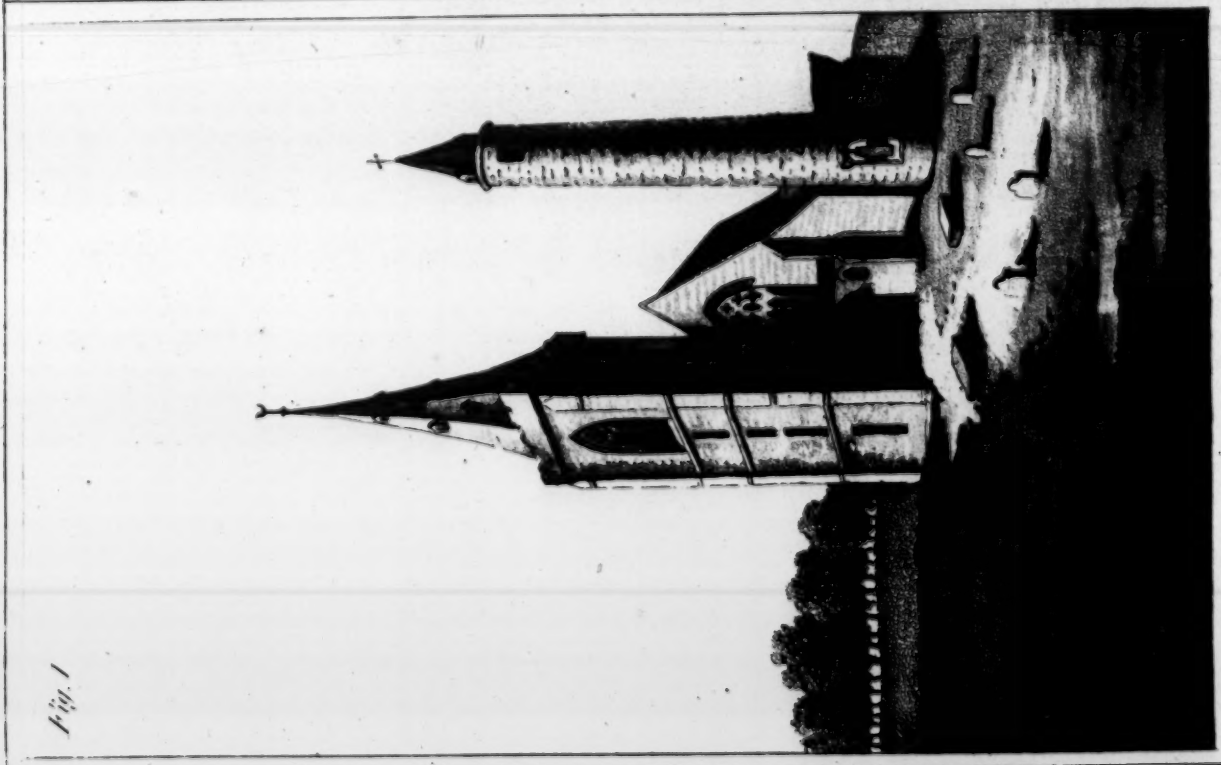
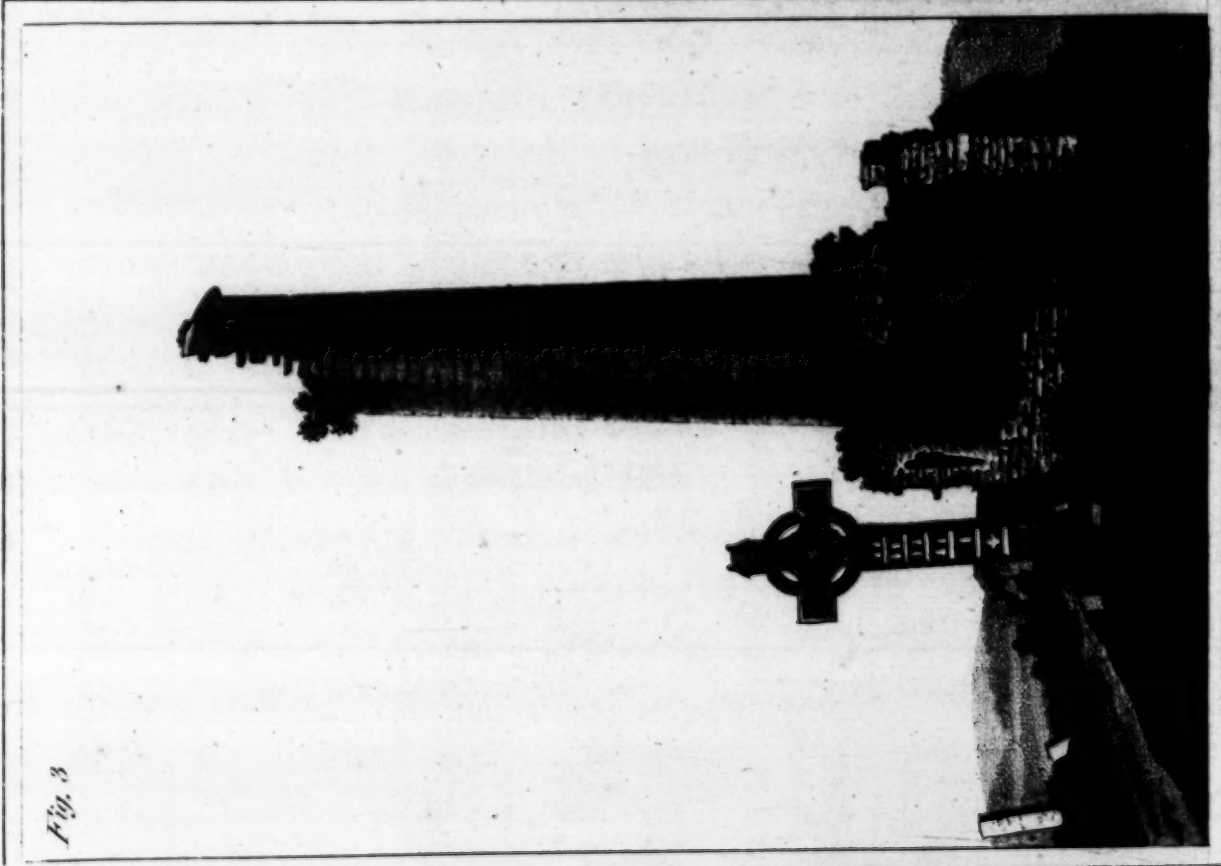
* See before in this Volume, p. 24, 25.—See also Mosheim's *Eccl. His.* Vol. II. p. 9.—*St. Patrick* lived about A. D. 432.—*Columba*, about A. D. 565.

† See a curious account in the *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 306, 307.





J.C. Muller sculp



Pillar Towers

several floors, or stages:—and every story had a little narrow loop-hole for light, or else a window.—Whilst in the uppermost story of all these, there were four larger windows, manifestly for the sake both of looking out, and of being seen on every side.—Some, however, of the Towers, in whatever manner their floors might be supported, had no such stone abutments.*

In their external form, these Towers gradually diminish, from the bottom to the top; and they are each one generally covered with a stone conical roof.

There are two of these Towers well known in Scotland.—One at *Brechin*, in *Angus-shire*: and one at *Abernethy*, in *Perth-shire*.

That at *Brechin*, represented Pl. LV. Fig. 1, is eighty feet in height from the ground, and has *now* an octagonal spire, about twenty-three feet high; which makes the whole to be about one hundred and three feet, or a little more to the summit. But this *spire* can hardly be considered in any other light, than as being a very modern addition.—The inner diameter of the Tower, within a few feet of the bottom, is only eight feet; and the thickness of the wall near four feet; so that the whole diameter is not more than about fifteen, or sixteen feet; and the circumference about forty-eight feet.—At the top, the inner diameter is only seven feet, eight inches; the walls nearly three feet thick, and the circumference about thirty-eight feet, eight inches.—There are four windows at the top of the Tower, facing the four Cardinal points:—and near the bottom, is a door facing the south, which, by a Building of far more recent date, now communicates with the Church;—besides this, there are two Arches on the outer wall carved in relief, one within another, and two small figures, also in relief, are added to them, standing between their mouldings.—

* See *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 80.

+ There are four accounts of this Tower. One by Mr. Pennant, in the Second Part of his *Tour in Scotland*, p. 161, 162, Pl. XVIII.—One by Mr. Grose, in his *Antiquities of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 261, 262.—And a third by Mr. Gough, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 84, and in his edition of *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 407.—And the original one by Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, p. 165.—But there is some difference in their several measures; and also in the representation of the Arches, and Bass-reliefs.—The above account, however, nearly reconciles them all, and represents the Arches as they really are, merely in relief upon the wall, and not forming a door.

These two figures are understood to represent the Mother of Our Lord, and St. John; and between the mouldings, at the top of the Arches, is a representation of the Crucifixion.—The Tower has at least about sixty courses of stone; is well built, of good masonry; insomuch that it has been often observed to vibrate with the wind:—and it is ascended within, merely by ladders,—from story to story.

The Tower at *Abernethy*, represented Pl. LV. Fig. 2, was also ascended by ladders, placed between platforms, now all destroyed;—or might originally even have been ascended by means of one ladder, drawn up from floor to floor;—but the floorings must have been of slight construction, as Gordon says, in his time, the whole inside looked like a draw-well.—Its height is between seventy-two, and seventy-five feet;—the inner diameter eight feet, two inches;—the thickness of the wall at bottom three feet, four inches, or somewhat more; and at the top, two feet seven.—The circumference near the ground is about forty-seven feet.

The door of this Tower faces the north, and is above eight feet from the ground:—and, like the former, this Tower has four windows at the top; each five feet, nine inches in height; and two feet, two inches in breadth; each also having two small Pillars. There appear about sixty-four regular courses of stone, in the structure; but probably there were more formerly, as there is reason to conclude that the ground has been raised up nearer to the door than it was originally.*

In Ireland, there are even a very considerable number of these Pillar Towers.—Many have been carefully surveyed, and examined;—many more are named;—and from various circumstances, there can be little doubt, but that some have still escaped notice. And for the discovery of the most original specimens of these kind of Structures, any where, in this western part of the world, we must undoubtedly turn our attention to *Ireland*.

At *Ardmore*, in the county of Waterford, is one above an

* Gordon's Itinerary, p. 164, Pl. LXII. Fig. 1.—Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Pt. II. p. 189.—Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 251, 253.—And Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 381.—The little differences in whose accounts, are here endeavoured to be reconciled.



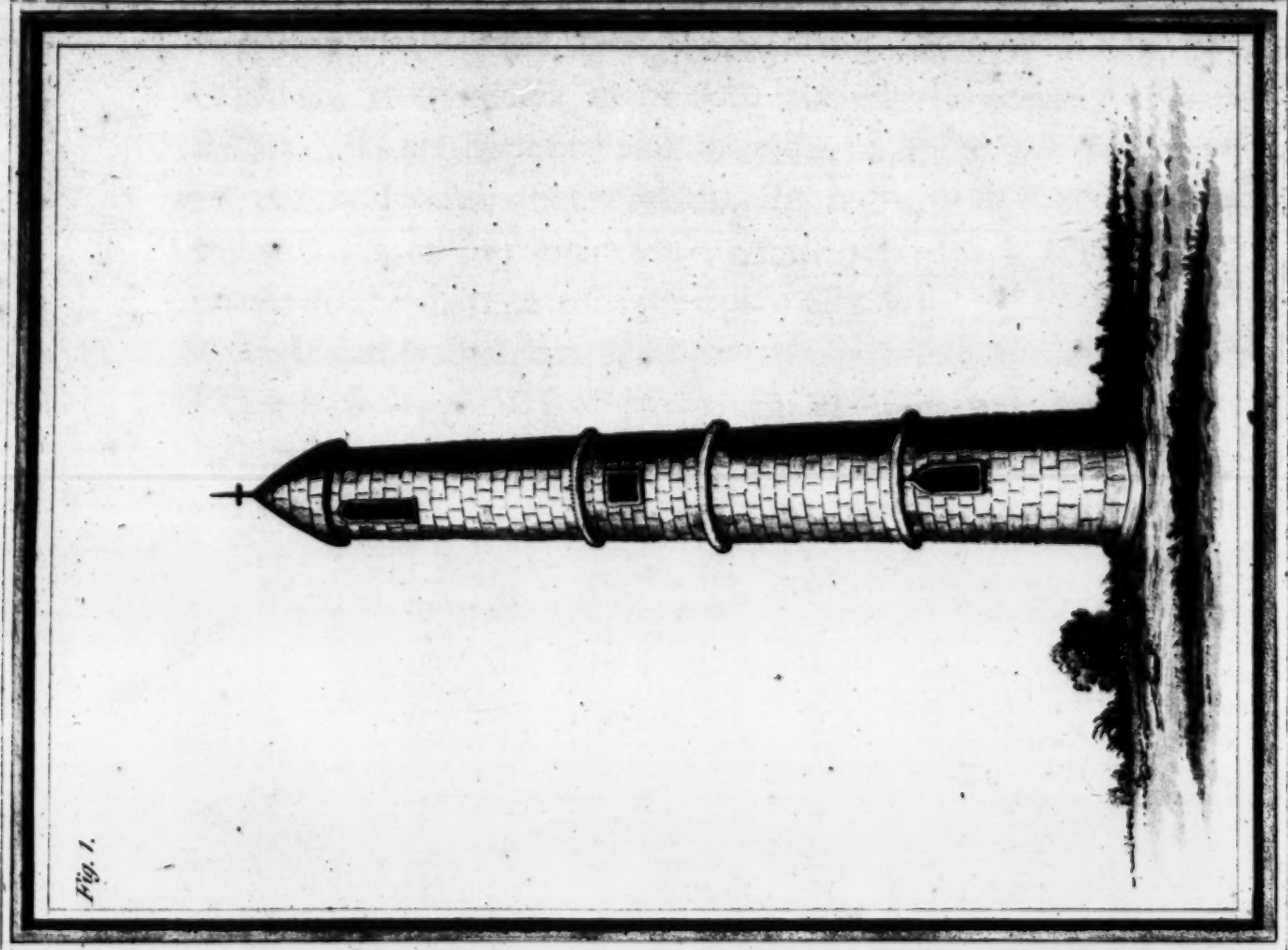


Fig. 1.

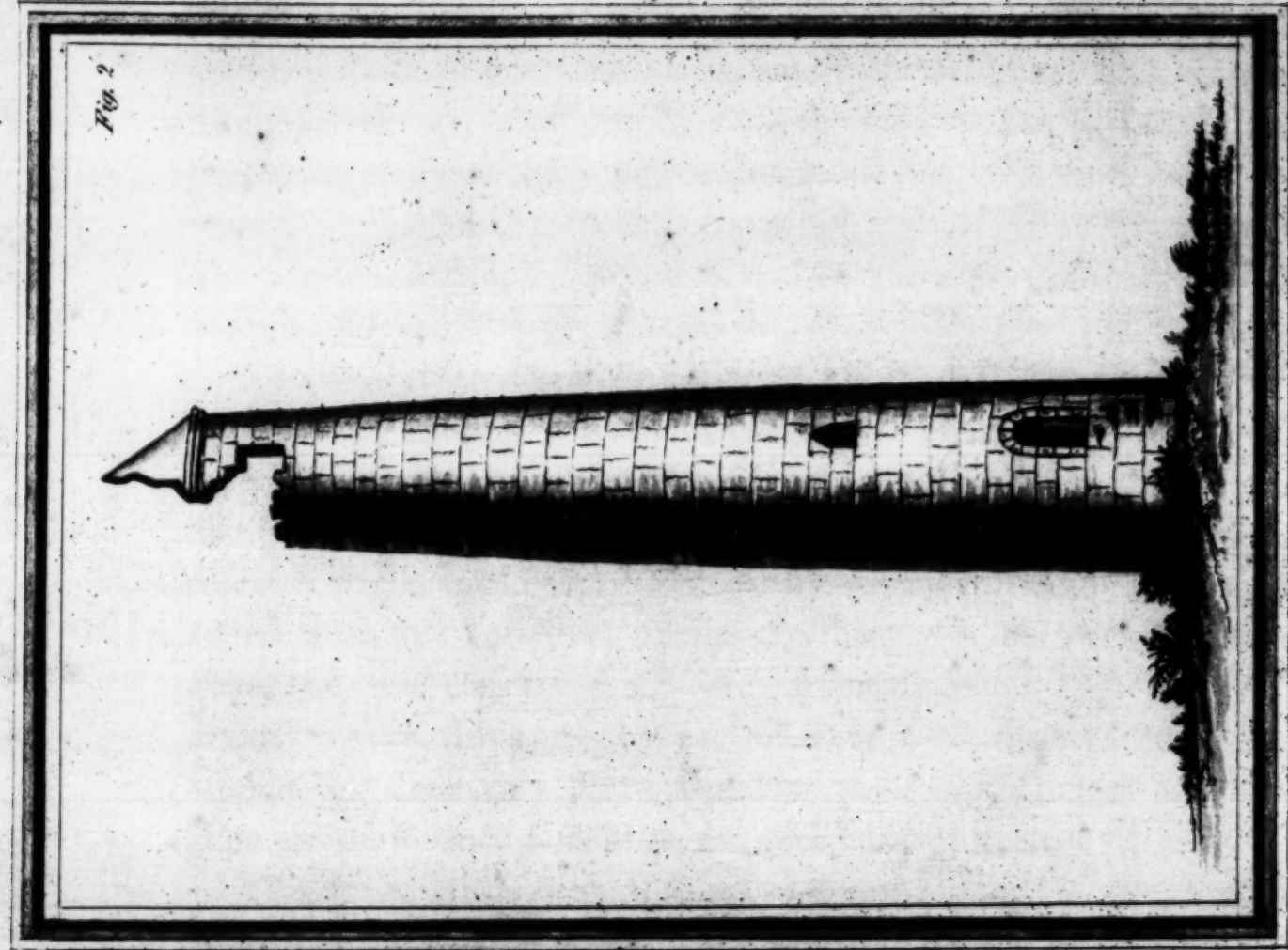


Fig. 2.

J.C. Stiller sculp

Pillar Towers

hundred feet high ; gradually lessening towards the top ; though only forty-five feet in outward circumference at bottom ; or fifteen feet in diameter.—It is represented Pl. LVI. Fig. 1, and appears divided, even on the outside, by projecting bands,* into four unequal beltings, or stories, with one window to each, except in the upper story, where there are four.—These uppermost windows have circular Arches : but the door beneath, which is fifteen feet from the ground, appears to have a *pointed Arch* :—a circumstance that may possibly be either the consequence of a repair, or an instance of the existence of a pointed Arch *before* its coming into common use :—though I am much rather inclined to think, that this appearance of a *pointed Arch*, is occasioned merely by two tall, curved stones, being placed *leaning one against the other*, like those in the window at *Brunless Castle*.†—As I have not seen the Building itself, I cannot decide ; but this conclusion seems the more just, because such appears to be actually the case in a window of the Pillar Tower at *Monaster Boyce*‡—The roof of *Ardmore Tower* is *conical*, formed of stones, well cut, and closely joined.

There was one of these Towers near the Cathedral of *Cork*.§

And another, near the Church at *Brigonne* :||—but these have long been destroyed.

There is said to be one now standing at *Cloyne*, ninety-two feet high, and ten feet in diameter,—with the door about thirteen feet from the ground,—facing the west entrance of the Church.¶

And another at *Kinnith* ;** with a little variation in point of Architecture ; it being hexagonal at bottom, and having each side ten feet, four inches, to the height of the first story : but it is then round, about fourteen feet in diameter in the whole, and seven or eight feet within.—It is seventy feet in height, and consists of six stories, each about eleven feet, nine inches high, so that a short ladder would reach from each to each.—And it stands

* See *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 305.—And Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 480.

† See in this Work, Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. II. and III.

‡ See Grose's *View of it in the Antiquities of Ireland*, Vol. II. p. 33.

§ *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 305.—And see Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 504.

|| *Smith's Cork*, Vol. II. p. 407. ¶ Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 480.

** *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 305.—Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 480.

one hundred and twenty-four feet from the west end of the Church.—An antient manuscript says it was built A. D. 1015.

There are two in the county of *Down*.*—One at *Drumboe*, twenty-four feet distant from the north-west door of the ruined Church; having its door of entrance on the east side, six feet from the ground.—It is about fifteen feet in diameter, on the outside; but only nine within, its walls being three feet and an half thick. And so much has been broken down, that it is now only thirty-five feet high.

The other is at *Down Patrick*; forty feet from the old Cathedral; and sixty feet high;—having its diameter within, only eight feet; and its walls three feet thick.—This Tower, however, differs from most other Pillar Towers, in having its door *near the ground*:†—but this circumstance is most probably to be accounted for, from some adventitious rise of the soil around:—for if we add twelve or fifteen feet, the frequent height of these kind of doors, from the bottom, to the present height of the Pillar, it will make its original height seventy-two, or seventy-five feet, which accords much more with the usual height of these sort of Structures.

There is also, in the Island of *Davenish*, near *Enniskillin*, in the county of Fermanagh, a round Tower, seventy-six feet high; and forty-one feet in circumference (that is only about thirteen feet and an half in its external diameter; and, as its walls are three feet thick, only seven feet and an half diameter within). It is all built of hewn stone; each stone only *about a foot square*, so that it might be carried up by the hand:—and as far as can be discerned, is built almost without any cement.—It has at the top, as usual, four windows opposite to the four cardinal points.—And at the bottom, a door nine feet from the ground.‡—This Tower is represented, Fig. 1, Pl. LVII.

We find a Tower, much of the same sort, near the Abbey of

* *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 306. + *Gough's Camden*, Vol. III. p. 480.

† *Archdall*, p. 259, 260.—And see a view of it in *Mr. Grose's Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 23. And another in *Gough's Camden*, Vol. III. p. 608, Pl. XLVII. Fig. 12.

‡ *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 305.—*Gough's Camden*, Vol. III. p. 480.



Fig. 10

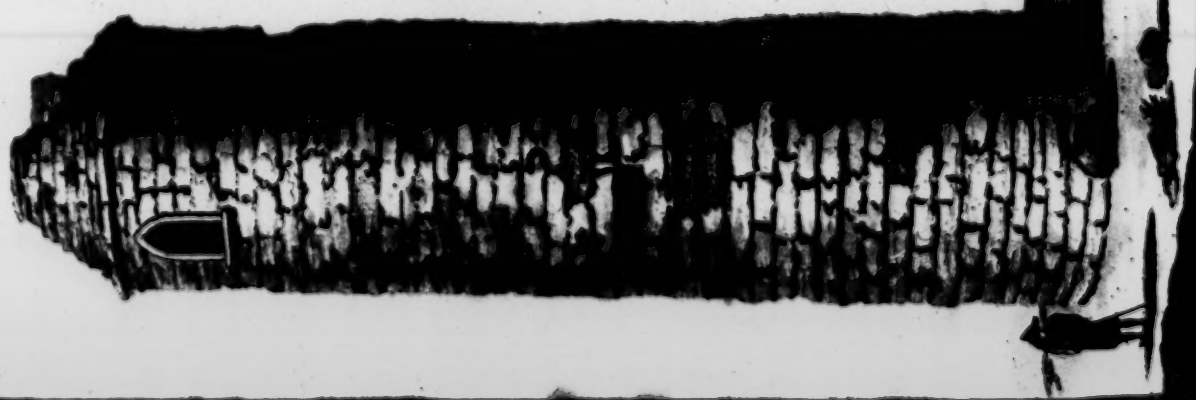


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

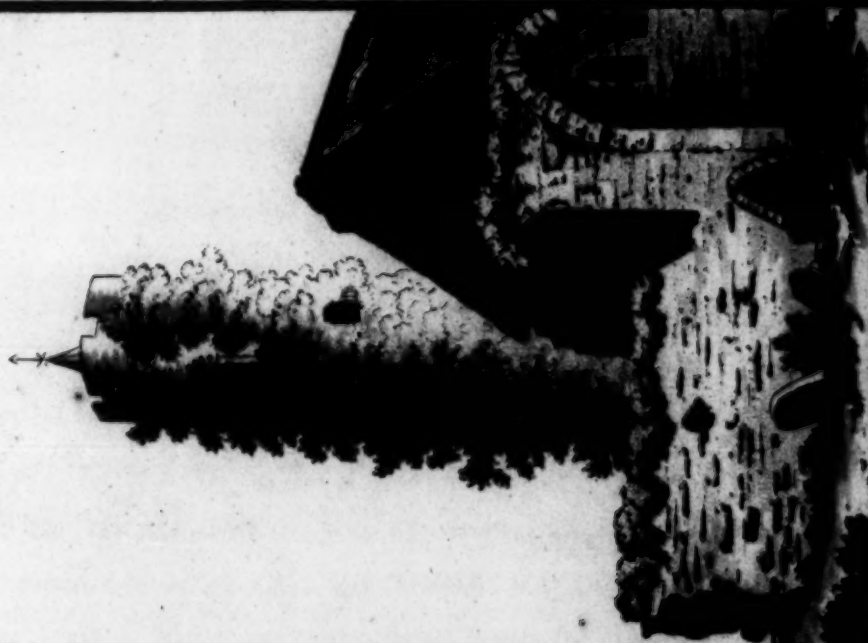


Fig. 11



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



W. H. Sturt

Slieve Donard, in Ireland,* only much higher, being no less than one hundred and thirty-two feet in height; though only about four-teen feet in its whole diameter, and eight within. It is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 5,—where several of these Buildings are shewn together, in order to be placed somewhat in a comparative point of view.—It has four original windows at the top, fronting the four cardinal points; but the battlements have been added in a modern repair.

Another is found at *Donoghmore*,† in the county of Meath, which is represented Fig. 4, Pl. LVII.

And still another, (as usual about fifteen feet in its whole diameter), is met with at *St. Canice's Church*,‡ in the county of Kilkenny; represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 6.

And there is said, in like manner, to be another at *Fertagh*.§

A singularly curious one is also at *Sword's Church*, in the county of Dublin;|| shewn Pl. LVII. Fig. 7.—The Church, now in ruins, and the Steeple adjoining, are much more modern; but to the old Abbey, tradition says, *St. Columba* gave his Missal, which he had transcribed himself.

And in the same county, at *Clondalkin*,¶ is that represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 8;—eighty-four feet in height, and fifteen feet in diameter, from outside to outside; with a door at a considerable height from the ground.—And which, according to tradition, was built, about the years 860, or 870.

Another such Tower exists, at *Cashel*, in the county of Tipperary,** in Ireland;—which is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 2.—This is said to have a communication with a Church of a later date, by a subterraneous passage; but some strong circumstances with regard to the building of a Chapel by *Cormac*, may induce

* This representation is taken from that given by Mr. Grose, Vol. I. p. 25.—And see also in Boate's History of Ireland, p. 212, Fig. 11.—Ware, I. p. 127, 128.

† See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 15.

‡ Ib. Vol. I. p. 33.

§ Archdall, 250 — Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 481.

|| Ib. Vol. I. p. 11.—And in Boate's History of Ireland, p. 213, Fig. 13.

¶ Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 16.—See also Boate's History of Ireland, p. 212, Fig. 12.

** Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 85. Vol. I. p. 72.—Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 522.

us to conclude, that this Tower was built, about A. D. 908, or 910.—And it has always been deemed the oldest Building on the rock, being constructed of free-stone; whereas the other Buildings are of lime-stone, of which the rock itself consists.

In the same Pl. LVII. Fig. 8, is a representation of the Pillar Tower at *Seven Churches*,* in the county of *Wicklow*, in Ireland.—This is one hundred and ten feet in height; and fifty-two feet round, at bottom; or about seventeen feet, four inches in diameter, with walls four feet thick; so that the diameter *within* cannot be more than about nine feet; and must probably be less in the uppermost part.

It is an observation of established authority, in Ireland; that where-ever we find one of these round Towers, we may be assured some Ecclesiastical foundation existed there *antecedent* to the arrival of the English.—And at *Castle-Dermont*,† in the county of *Kildare*, (where constant tradition has affirmed one *St. Diernit* had a Monastick Cell, about the year 500, and where *Gormac Mac Cuillenam*, a celebrated Chieftain, had received his education, and was also buried about A. D. 938), is a very curious round Tower, of the kind we have been describing; and of a style of Architecture totally different from that of the Church near which it stands.—This Tower is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 9, from Mr. Grose's design of it.

There is another round Tower at *Kilcullen*,‡ in the county of *Kildare*: it is, however, now only forty feet high.—It is forty-four feet in circumference, and therefore not quite fifteen feet in diameter:—and the walls being three feet, six inches in thickness, its Chambers could be only about eight feet in diameter;—whilst the door of entrance was nearly about the same distance

* See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 96, 97.—It ought here to be noticed that the shading of these Pillars is suffered in this Plate to be on different sides, through an unwillingness to depart from the fidelity of the original designs.

† See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 43. The ruined wall that comes before it in this view, prevents its appearing so lofty in proportion to its diameter as it really is.—But I would not venture to depart from the fidelity of the representation.

‡ See Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. II. p. 27, 28.

from the ground.—A Monastery is, by tradition, affirmed to have been founded here by *Mactalius*, a disciple of *St. Patrick*, so early as A. D. 549.—And a Church, which stood here, was plundered by the Ostmen, so early as A. D. 936.—At this Church also, as a proof of its high antiquity, a very curious Door-way, similar exactly to the antient *Saxon* Door-ways, is found.*

And still another *Pillar Tower*, is found at *Turlogh*,† in the county of *Mayo*, in Ireland, of dimensions a little more convenient.—It being nine feet diameter on the inside.—But it is seventy feet high, and the door nineteen feet from the ground. It is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 10.

There are remains also of a Tower at *Timahoe*, in *Queen's County*;‡ which once had seven stories, and rests for floors.—Being fifty-three feet in circumference, its diameter is only about seventeen or eighteen feet:—and its walls being four feet, four inches thick, its chambers could not be more than about nine feet in diameter.—The door is fourteen feet from the ground.

There were two in the county of *Kerry*.—One opposite to the west end of the Cathedral of *Ardfert*;§ near an hundred and twenty feet high; built mostly of a dark kind of marble; which fell to the ground in the year 1771.

And the other is near the ruins of the Cathedral at *Rattoo*.||

At *Monaster Boice*, (or *Boyce*),¶ in the county of *Louth*, is also a most remarkable Structure of this sort. It is one hundred and ten feet high, diminishing like a *Tuscan* Pillar from its base, which is eighteen feet in its utmost diameter, and about fifty-one feet in the measure of its circumference.

For the sake of comparing it with the others, it is represented Pl. LVI. Fig. 2, from Mr. Wright's view of it, who took it to be a *Danish* Structure.—But herein, as it appears to me, he was mistaken:—for so far from the *Danes* having reared this Structure,

* This is also represented by Mr. Grose, in his Introduction to Vol. II. Pl. III.

† Grose's Antiquities of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 43.

‡ Ib. Vol. II. p. 11.

§ Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 480, 492; and Smith's Kerry, p. 203.

|| Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 492.

¶ See Wright's Louthiana, Book III. Pl. XIV. p. 18; and Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 481, 603.—*St. Boetius*, or *Boice*, died A. D. 521.

(who certainly have never been found to have built any such thing in their own country), they even are recorded to have plundered this very Church in A. D. 968, when there is every reason to believe, that not only a *Church*, but this very *Pillar Tower* must have been in existence; as almost uniformly these Towers are built of different materials, and ever appear to have been *prior* to the Churches near which they stand.—Its walls are three feet, six inches thick; so that its diameter within is at most eleven feet, in the widest part.—Its door is now six feet from the ground;—but probably was more formerly.—It has six stories; with projecting stones, to support the floors.—And it is built with a slaty stone, evidently from the neighbouring hills.—But it deserves notice that the door is of *free-stone*.—For fidelity sake, as I have never been upon the spot myself, I add Pl. LV. Fig. 3, as exactly as possible, a copy of Mr. Grose's view of the Building, which seems to have been more accurately taken than Mr. Wright's, and where the window appears evidently constructed *merely of two stones, set leaning one against the other*, like that at *Brunless Castle*, in Wales.*—A circumstance that may perhaps best of all account for any appearance of *pointed Arches*, in some other of these *Pillar Towers*:—and may lead us to suspect, that the pointed Door-way, in the *Pillar Tower* at *Ardmore*, and also that at *Kilmacduach*, were formed in the same manner.

For at *Kilmacduach*, in *Galway*, is found one of these antient round *Pillar Towers*, so well constructed, that although, by some accident, it now leans seventeen feet and an half† from its perpendicular, (which is four feet and an half more than the Tower of *Pisa* leans), yet it still remains firm.—It is represented Pl. LVII. Fig. 11. The window at the top deserves notice;—and the door is many feet from the ground.

And last of all, as one of the most curious circumstances of all, it ought to be mentioned, that at *Mahera*,‡ in the county of *Down*,

* See *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. III. p. 32, Pl. II. and III.

† See Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 583, Pl. XLVII. Fig. 11; from whence this representation is copied, by way of illustration of what has been here remarked.

‡ Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III. p. 480.—And Campbell's *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, p. 394, 407.

formerly stood an high Tower, which about forty or fifty years ago was overturned by a violent storm, so as to lay almost at length on the ground, like an huge gun; so wonderfully hard, and binding, was the cement, and so good the workmanship.

Such are the *Pillar Towers* in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, that have been either delineated, or fully described.—And such an uniformity of Structure is conspicuous in all of them, that they even seem as if they had been built by the same hand.—They are all nearly about the same height;—the diameters both within and without are nearly the same;—they have nearly the same thickness of wall;—the door of each also, is found at a distance from the ground, except where the ground has been raised;—and there are never found any means of ascending to the top, but by a ladder from floor to floor;—four windows are also always found in the upper story, facing the cardinal points, and hardly any elsewhere;—they have the same external appearance very nearly;—and their Architecture, and materials, in general are unlike the Architecture, and materials, of the Churches near whose remains they stand; and unlike the materials of other Buildings in the country.

Several others have been named,* as being similar to these, in different parts of *Ireland*; but as they have not been particularly described I omit them.—But surely their being so very common in *Ireland*, and their being elsewhere to be met with only in *Scotland*, leads to a fair suspicion that, (whatever their designed use was), their existence in *Scotland*, was the consequence of the preaching of some *Irish Missionaries*.

A long trumpet, of iron, was indeed dug up, from the bottom of one of these Towers.—And several such are said to have been found in *Ireland*, near these Buildings.†—We may therefore perhaps conclude, that they were, at least *occasionally*, used as stations, for the purpose of a person's proclaiming either summons, or alarm.

But some passages in antient Irish Manuscripts, referred to by *Mr. Smith*, in his Account of Four Irish Counties, shews plainly

* Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 481.

† Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 82.

that they also had another use.—And what has, in the preceding pages, been said of *Monkish Prisons*, together with what we know clearly of the effects of superstition, in barbarous countries, may very well lead us to believe, that they indeed had also such other use, in rude countries, and in rude ages, where rude methods were the most obvious of all others to reform, if possible, a rude people.—And they might also be designed even for the *voluntary* retirement, and self-mortification of well-meaning devout hermits.

One of these manuscripts says, that these Towers were used for *imprisoning penitents*.—And consistently with this idea, supposing the imprisonment to be voluntary, another old manuscript account of the life of *Dunchad O Brabin*, says, that he betook himself to such a prison, wherein he died A. D. 987.*

Whilst constant tradition has affirmed, that another anchorite lived, on the top of one of these Pillars, in the Churchyard of *Drumlabin*, in the county of Cavan.†

In King's County also, it is to be remarked, amongst the ruins of the Churches at *Clonmacnois*, are two Towers, that still retain peculiar names,‡ as having belonged to two certain persons, (who may most rationally be believed to have been *anchorites* that once dwelt in them.—The one is to this day called *O'Rourke's Tower*;—and is sixty-two feet high, and fifty-six in circumference; which makes its utmost diameter to be about eighteen feet, eight inches; and (allowing the walls to be three feet and an half thick) its diameter within about twelve feet.

And the other is still called *McCarthy's Tower*;—and is seven feet in diameter within; having the walls three feet thick, and being fifty-six feet high including its conical roof.

To which it deserves to be added, that the very *Irish name*, by which these sort of Towers have for ages frequently been distinguished, *Cloch-anchoire*, is said to mean the *stone of the anchorite*.§

* *Archæologia*, Vol. I. p. 307.

† Harris I. 135.

‡ Harris II. 165.—Archdall, 392

§ See Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, with Harris's Additions, p. 135, where many of the most curious and important observations relating to these Towers are with great judgment and fidelity collected together.

The retirement, or self-imprisonment of *Dunthad O Bravin*, together with other circumstances, shews that these Towers were (some of them at least) built so late as between A. D. 900, and A. D. 1000.

The History of *Symeon Stylites*, from which such sort of imprisonment, and sequestration, as that of *Dunthad O Bravin* seems to have first derived its origin, is given us by *Euagrius Scholasticus*, who wrote about A. D. 600; and is a curious proof both of the superstitious ideas which had gained ground, in the East, in those days; and of the strange beginning of monkish austerities in the reign of *Theodosius*, about A. D. 380; not more than two hundred years before the time of *Euagrius*.—A sad proof how good and fervent intentions may be perverted, by a misguided judgment; even if we put the best construction possible, both on the conduct of *Symeon*, and on the words of *Euagrius*.

“In those days,” says *Euagrius*,* “there was of great fame and renowne one *Symeon*, a godly man, and much spoken of: he was the first that taught to dwell in a Pillar; and made therein his lodging, scarce two cubits wide, (which dimensions, if we take the sacred cubit for our measure, make his apartment to have been only three feet, or a little more, in diameter).

“This *Symeon*, being in the flesh, imitated in life the trade of the angelical powers; withdrew himself from worldly affairs; forced Nature, which of herself leaneth downwards, and followed after loftie things; being placed as it were in the midst between heaven and earth. He sought conference with God; he praised Him, together with the angels; he lifted the prayers of men up from the earth unto heaven, and offered them to God.†—He brought the goodness of God from heaven to earth, and made the world partaker thereof.

“This man wrote a Letter to the Emperor *Theodosius*, rebuking

* See Hammer's translation of *Eusebius*, &c. &c. p. 413, 419, ed. 1584, whose words, for many reasons, I choose on this occasion to use, rather than any translation of my own.

† All this surely was even blasphemy, against *Jesus Christ Our Lord*, who alone has such power, and divine office.

“ him for that he had made a law, that the Jews inhabiting
 “ Antioch should enjoy again such Synagogues as the Christians
 “ had taken from them.

“ Ten years (on the beginning of his austerities) *Symeon* lived
 “ in a very narrow room ;—seven in a somewhat straiter Pillar ;
 “ —and thirty years in a Pillar of forty cubits.”

“ This Pillar, *Euagrius* says,* stood before the front of a Church,
 built after the manner of a cross, on an hill, called *Mandria*, at
 some distance from Antioch : “ in which, saith he, the earthly and
 “ corporeal angel led an heavenly life.”

And, then he adds,† that a star of a wonderful bigness, was
 seen by him, with many countrymen assembled together, “ run-
 “ ning and wandering hither and thither throughout the chinks,
 “ and cleft latices ; twinkling in the eyes of the beholders :
 “ neither that once, twice, or thrice ; but oftener ; and the same
 “ oftentimes fading and vanishing away ; afterwards immediately
 “ appearing again.—And there are which report (says *Euagrius*
 again) “ that they saw the very shape of his person, hovering
 “ here and there ; with a long beard ; and an hat (or covering) on
 “ his head after his wonted manner.”

This whole detail, (whilst it is a most curious early specimen of
Legendary Tales, and of craftiness) ;—should prevent our mar-
 velling that such examples, within a century or two after the age
 of *Euagrius*, took place, and were followed in *Ireland*.

Surely it cannot be a matter of surprise if *there*, where gross
 superstition of all kinds, (gross even in the days of Paganism),
 appears to have had raging dominion ; and where therefore
 superstitions grafted upon Christianity were the more easily in-
 troduced ; if *there*, similar Towers, and similar austerities, to
 those of the first Christian anchorites in the East, were to be
 found.

The words of *Euagrius*,‡ that “ *Symeon was the first that taught to*
 “ *dwell in a Pillar*, plainly implied that *others*, afterwards, did the

* P. 420.

† P. 420.

‡ *Euagrius Scholasticus*, Hanmer's Trans. p. 418.

same.—And accordingly we find, the tale of another *Symeon*, in the time of the Emperor *Justin*, and of *Chosroes*, King of Persia, about A. D. 530; who also dwelt in a Pillar; and was induced to do so, by a Master, or Teacher, who had dwelt in like manner himself.*

The tale is even more legendary than the former,—and says, that he entered into this course of life, even before he had changed his teeth.

“Being of tender years, says Euagrius, playing, leaping, and skipping, to and fro, about the tops of hills and greenes, as the manner is of children, he lighted by chance upon a *Lybard*, took his girdle and tied him about the neck, led the beast, which had now put off his fierce nature, by the girdle, as if it had been a bridle, and brought him home to his Monastery.—His Master, who led his life in a Pillar, seeing this, enquired of him what he had in his girdle: the boy answered it was a cat.—His Master gathering hereby that he would hereafter prove a worthy man, trained him up to lead his life in a Pillar.—In which Pillar, together with another also standing upon the top of an hill, he lived three score and eight years; replenished with all graces from above.”

We find also an account of an hermit, named *Daniel*, who dwelt in a Pillar, at *Anaplum*, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.†—We are told also of numbers, who in imitation of the first *Symeon*, erected Pillars, and took their station in them:‡ and they are mentioned in Ecclesiastical Records, even as low as the eleventh century.§

Some traces of the custom remain, in the East, even down to these days; although confined now *there*, as other rude antient customs have been *here*, in latter ages, to dangerous, wild, and most sequestered situations.

On the sides of the brook *Cedron*, in the Holy Land, on its way to the *Dead Sea*, is a Monastery, called that of *St. Sabba*, built on a

* Euagrius Scholasticus, Hammer's Trans. p. 511.

† Theodori Collectanea, lib. i.

‡ Ware's Antiquities, and Harris, p. 131.

§ Mosheim says, even to the twelfth century, Vol. II. p. 50.

clift of an hill, surrounded with a stone wall, eight feet thick, and twenty-six feet high; and in circumference above a mile.—And on the outside of its walls, on the west, at the distance of more than fifty yards, is a square Tower, (of much larger dimensions indeed than the more antient round ones which we have been describing, but answering somewhat the same purposes), for its door of entrance is at a great height from the ground: the ascent being by means of fourteen stone steps, placed at some distance (not less than twelve feet) from it: and from these steps is access, only by means of a drawbridge, pulled up against the door of the Tower.—Here live two, or three hermits, in an austere manner; eating only *once* every other day; whilst those in the Convent eat *once* every day:—and drinking only water.—And their employment is prayers, and meditation on sacred books.—But if either marauding Arabs, or strangers approach, then, by means of a long wire, and a little bell, these hermits give notice to those within the Convent.

Here, therefore, we find, even to this day, is a sort of *Hermit's Watch Tower*; answering the double purpose, of austere retirement, and of cautious guard.*

And from their eating *once* only every other day; and from their being thus shut up, and secluded; it is very plain they were subject either to *penance*, or at least to rules, and severities, beyond what was required of those who dwelt within the Convent.

The Pillar in which the first *Symeon Stylites* dwelt, and which stood before the front of the Church of *Mandria*, seems to have been built in a sort of imitation of the Pillars of *Trajan*,—*Antoninus*,—*Arcadius*,—and *Constantine*.

And as those, we well know, had very narrow loop holes, on the sides, all the way up, for the sake of giving light, and air to an internal staircase; so we may very well believe, that this at *Mandria*, also, had the same.—And especially as we are expressly told, by *Petrus Galesinius*, that *Symeon the Stylite*, lived in an hollow Pillar.†

* See *Archæologia*, Vol. IX. p. 269 to p. 273.

† See *Ware's Antiquities*, with *Harris's Additions*, p. 131.

Hence it might easily come to pass, some years afterwards, that by means of a person going up the internal staircase, by which *Symeon Stylites* himself had used to ascend, there might be produced the effect, to persons at some distance, of an appearance of a star, shining by fits, and intervals, in different parts of the Pillar, through its little narrow loops:—and even, to an acute eye, looking in through the loops, the appearance of a person hovering here, and there, who very probably might have, in the days of *Euagrius*, as *Symeon Stylites* had before, a long beard, and an hat, or covering, on his head;—and might be some deceiving Monk, imposing on stupid, and ignorant beholders.

As the Pillar of the first *Symeon Stylites* seems to have been originally somewhat of an imitation of the Pillars of *Trajan*,—*Antoninus*,—*Arcadius*, and *Constantine*; so those of the *Irish*, and *Scots*, may well be supposed to have been rude imitations of this of *Symeon*, introduced into Ireland by some devout *Irish Monk*, who had travelled to *Jerusalem*, and into *Syria*.

The first *Saxon* converts, in England, derived their first knowledge of Christianity from *Rome*; together with such corruptions and superstitions as had then been introduced by the *Western*, and *Latin Church*:—but the *Irish* seem to have derived their first knowledge of Christianity, partly from the *Britons*, and partly from *Palestine*, and *Syria*, and from the *Asiatic Churches*; with such corruptions as had been introduced in the *Eastern*, and *Greek Church*.—Hence the *Irish* are known to have followed the *Eastern Churches*, and not the *Roman*, in the great disputed point concerning the celebration of *Easter*.*—And it appears indeed from the written lives of several of the *Irish Saints*, that they early visited *Asia*;† whilst it is also well known that, in the fifth century, even *Sedulius*, an *Irish Poet*, travelled thither, for the sake of learning.

We are even told of *Stones*, having been dug up in Ireland, with *Hebraic Inscriptions*;‡—which plainly seem to be indications

* Bedæ His. Eccles. lib. iii. ca. 35.—And *Usher*.—*Primord*, p. 931.

† Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, and Harris, p. 133.

‡ Ibid.

of the persons to whom they belonged having had more intercourse than common with the Asiatic Churches.

Hence, therefore, it may the more easily have come to pass, that the construction of *Pillars*, or *Pillar Towers*, for the residence of *Hermits*,* the introduction of which corruption of religion, and

* The dwelling on *Pillar Towers*, or *Pillars*, was so intirely a superstition of the *Asiatic*, and *Eastern Churches*, that when an effort was made at *Treves*, in Germany, to introduce it there, and one *Wulfilacius* had, for that purpose, even erected one of these *Pillars*,† and proposed living upon the top thereof, the neighbouring Bishops ordered it to be pulled down.—'Tis not at all impossible, but that he might be one of the very persons, who had better success in Ireland.

So effectually had the reverence for the *Hermitical* mode of life been introduced into *Ireland*, in various shapes; and so prevalent was the habit of such sequestration become, that the names of several *Irish Hermits* are even preserved upon record, that lived between the years 732 and 1235:—amongst whom we find *Dunchad O Braoin*, who had been *Abbot of Clonmacnois*, and who betook himself to an hermit's life, and shut himself up in *Arcti Inclusorii Ergastulo*, in a *Prison of narrow inclosure*.—And Sir James Ware also mentions an instance of the custom having continued down even to his own days, by a religious devotee living in a *small stone cell*, at *Foure*, in the county of *Westmeath*, and adds an account of the manner of his being attended, and supplied with provisions, whilst the whole neighbouring country venerated him, as *The Holy Man in the Stone*. Ware's and Harris's *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 134, 135.

The austere, sequestered, hermits' mode of life, though not with the circumstance of dwelling on a *Pillar*, was begun much earlier in *Egypt*, and in *Syria*, than the days of the first *Symeon*; but even *there* was generally undertaken, in the neighbourhood of *Conventual Societies*, and of the *Places of Religious Assembly*, and of *Religious Worship*.

Some of the most celebrated *Monasteries* were surrounded by a sort of *Laura*, or distant circle of *solitary Cells*, for these *Hermits*.—When *Gerasimus* founded his *Monastery*, in the *Wilderness of Jordan*, about A. D. 450, it was surrounded by a *Laura* of seventy *Cells*, for such *hermits*.—(Suicer. *Thesaur. Ecclesiast.* Tom. II. p. 205, 218.—Thomassin *Discipline de l'Eglise*, Tom. I. p. 1501, 1502.

Gerasimus is described as a candid, pious, studious man.—And when we are told of the pains that certain of the *Pillar hermits* took, to exhort, and instruct, at times, the surrounding people, it would be a want of candour, not to suppose that some of them at least, might employ their leisure, and abstraction from the world, in studying the *Holy Scriptures*; in contemplation; and prayer; and in the pursuit, and improvement of such science, as was at that time to be obtained.—It cannot be forgotten, that the celebrated, and learned *Aldhelm* acquired his first rudiments of knowledge, of one *Maildolphus*, who lived an hermit's life, near *Ingelburne*, about the year 650 (See in this Volume, p. 80, 81).

† See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 50.—And Gregor. *Turonens. Histor. Francor.* lib. viii. ca. 15.

devotion, was first introduced in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, and in *the East*, should, with other usages of the *Eastern Christians*, have been introduced in *Ireland*; and yet not in *England*.—And that they should also have been introduced, in such parts of *Scotland*, as were visited by zealous *Irish Teachers*.

The good workmanship of the Pillars, and the uniformity of their construction, so unlike any other Buildings in *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, evidently seems to indicate, that they were built much about the same time, and by the very same workmen:—probably by workmen brought by those identical Religious Persons, the *Hermits*, from the East; if not even built by the *Hermits* themselves; who were the means of introducing this strange mode of life.

And this, in truth, may account, both for this peculiar mode of building so soon ceasing in *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, after these Towers were once built; and for the circumstance of no other kind of Buildings, of so good masonry, existing either in *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, of the same age.

It has already been mentioned, as an observation made, both in the *Parentalia*, and by our skilful Architect Mr. Essex,* with regard to the *Saxons*, and *Normans*; that it was customary even in *England*, to send for masons from abroad, to build Churches, or Monasteries; who went, in companies, from one place to another:—Persons well skilled in the art of working in stone, or master masons:—and indeed Bede, and other antient *Saxon Writers*, seldom mention the building of a Church, or Monastery, but they say that *foreigners were sent for* to build them.—Hence, (notwithstanding the ingenuity of any *Saxon Recluses* themselves, either in contriving ingenious ornamental devices, or in drawing designs for doors, or windows), the art of building, in such nice manner, and with such good masonry, almost directly ceased, in the different respective places, even in *England*, on the departure of these companies of artists;† and much more might it do so, in *Ireland*, or in *Scotland*.

* *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 93, 102, 103.

† It has also been remarked by Mr. Essex, (*Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 94, 98), that these foreign artists used stones of a moderate size, as the Britons, (whose art had long

It would perhaps be giving too unwarrantable a scope to conjecture, to suppose that *each Irish hermit* learnt the art abroad, in the East; and by slow degrees *built his own Pillar*:—though it is a well known fact,* that the Recluses of the earliest ages, made a point of *working with their hands*, in some industrious occupation, when they were not employed in reading, or prayer:—and though such a supposition will, even more rationally than any other, account for *Symeon Stylites's gradual rise* upon his Pillar; who, *Raderus* says,† was mounted first upon a Pillar of six cubits, or nine feet high;—then upon one twelve cubits, or eighteen feet high;—afterwards upon one twenty-two cubits, or thirty-three feet high;—and last of all, upon one of thirty-six, or forty cubits, that is fifty-four, or sixty feet in height; with a Cell at the top of only two cubits, or about three feet in diameter.—And it is very remarkable, that *Theodorett*‡ expressly alledges, that *Symeon added gradually to the height of his Pillar*.

Such gradual rising, would unquestionably give opportunity to the Structure to dry; and to become firm:—and such a Structure, without any thing miraculous in the work, might be built *gradually even by one skilful man alone*, by means of a short ladder, and without any scaffolding, or even a ladder on the outside, and with such plain materials, both of stone for the walls, and of wood for floorings, as might be collected without difficulty, and be easily bestowed by the charity of devotees, out of regard for the Recluse.

And as it is very remarkable, that though this Pillar of Symeon's has been so much spoken of, yet we do not read of any great personage, by whose command, or at whose expence, it

been lost) had done before;—stones seldom exceeding seven or eight inches, and often less;—and this both for the convenience of carrying them up with ease, on ladders; and also because quarries of *large stones*, were not easily met with, or to be worked, in countries to which those artists were strangers.—Hence *Caen stone* came to be at last so frequently sent for;—and hence it comes to pass, that other stone, cut into the *same small dimensions*, is often mistaken for *Caen stone*.

* See before, p. 30, in this Volume.

† Viridarii, Pt. III. ca. 4.—And see Harris, p. 131.

‡ See even Mosheim's citation, in his Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 49; and other citations, referred to by him on the occasion.

was reared;—but are only simply told, of what *Symeon Stylites* did himself;—so if the Towers in Ireland were built by the *hermits themselves*, it may account both for our not hearing of any *Irish Princes*, by whose command, or at whose expence they were reared; and also for there not being any *other* well-wrought stone Buildings, at all contemporary with them.

Whatever artists they were reared by, these *Pillar Towers* might possibly be used occasionally as *beacons*, wherein to burn a light, in order to summons the neighbouring country to arms; or wherein to sound a trumpet for alarm;—and the idea of such sort of occasional usefulness, might even be an inducement to the *Irish Princes*, to permit their being built upon their territories.—But more skilful workmen than *those Irish Princes* seem in any other instances to have ever afterwards employed, must have been at hand, to rear such Structures:—and such workmen must have been brought thither, by some more powerful motive, than that of rearing *beacons*:—in short, by a motive that could hardly be any thing less, than *zealous Religion*, degenerated into superstition;—and which, had it existed in the minds of the *Princes* themselves, would undoubtedly have led them to rear contemporary, *equally well built, Churches*, as well as these *Towers*.

Two objections to the conclusion, *that these Towers were designed for Religious Recluses, or Hermits*, deserve to be taken notice of.—The one, that of *Mr. Gough*:—the other, that of *Mr. Molineux*, that they were built by the *Danes*.

Mr. Gough says,* “It must require a warm imagination, to point out the similarity between *Symeon’s Pillar*, and the *Irish Round Tower*: the one was solid, the other hollow; the one was square, the other circular.”

But surely there is little support either for this affirmation, or for this conclusion, if we consider that the true idea of the *Pillar* having been *hollow, and ascended by ladders within*, has been contradicted, originally, only by the dogmatical affirmation of *Bollandus*,† an hasty writer of the seventeenth century, who neither

* *Gough’s Additions to Camden*, Vol. III. p. 482.

† *Vitæ Sanctorum*.

adduces any proof, nor any authority for such contradiction ;—whilst *Raderus*, whose authority is quite as good, or better, positively says,* that when any persons went up to the *Stylites*; or when they came down, it was by means of *ladders*;—and whilst *Petrus Galesinius* expressly affirms, that *Symeon* lived shut up in an *hollow Pillar*, for forty years; eating flesh only once a week, and at other times bread, roots, and herbs.

As to the Pillar being *square*;—I could never meet with any one passage, in *Euagrius Scholasticus*, or in the writings of any author before Mr. Gough, that mentions any such circumstance.

And indeed the whole account of *Euagrius*, who lived only about one hundred years afterwards; and his description of the Church,† *before one of whose Porches it was standing*; and which he himself saw; intimates quite the contrary.

He says, “The building of the Church is after the manner of a cross, notably set forth with Porches, four-square. The Porches have Pillars annexed to them finely wrought of free-stone, which lift up the roof on high, and that very artificially. The entrie that is to the midst of the Temple is wide open, and very cunningly wrought; where the aforesaid Pillar of forty cubits stands.”

And then it is that *Euagrius* adds, that he himself, “with many countrymen, assembled together, and compassing the Pillar, saw a star of a wonderful bigness, running and wandering hither and thither, throughout the chinks:—and that this was commonly seen on the Saint’s holiday.”

Mr. Gough says,‡ “these Pillars were placed, at a distance from towns, and even on mountains:—but the account given of *Symeon’s* Pillar, standing directly before the Church Door of *Mandria*, proves somewhat the contrary; at least in the instance of the first founder of this sort of rigid life.

I must further add, that there are not any sufficient grounds whatever, to give credit to the idle tale, that *Symeon*, and the

* *Viridarium Sanctorum*, Part III. ca. 4.

† See *Euagrius Scholasticus*, lib. i. ca. 14.

‡ Gough’s *Additions to Camden*, Vol. III. p. 482.

other *Stylites*, or *Pillar Hermits*, mortified themselves by continual standing ;—or that, in order to acquire this wonderful power, *Symeon* procured himself to be tied to a beam, or upright post, for forty days, as some have pretended.*—For the very facts mentioned by Gibbon, (to whose authorities I refer the reader†), of his having been seen to perform his adorations, and prostrations, with so much bodily activity, a most prodigious number of times, prove the very contrary.

I shall cite his very words.

“ Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous
“ situation without fear, or giddiness, and successively to assume
“ the different postures of devotion.—He sometimes prayed in an
“ erect attitude, with his out-stretched arms, in the figure of a
“ cross ; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his
“ meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet : and a curious
“ spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four re-
“ petitions, at length desisted from the endless account.”

The circumstances mentioned also by *Mosheim* himself, on good authorities, are in truth, in like manner inconsistent with such a supposition,—and shew manifestly, that *Symeon* employed himself much in *preaching, and teaching* :—for he says,‡ that *Symeon, by his influence, and authority, introduced the Christian worship into a certain district of the Arabians*.—And that *the inhabitants of Libanus, and Antilibanus, being dreadfully infested with wild beasts, implored his assistance, and counsels ; and in consequence of his answer abandoned their superstitious worship, and embraced Christianity*.

And still more forcibly is the fact, of *Symeon's standing motionless, or in any fixed posture*, contradicted, by what *Euagrius* relates,§ concerning *his coming down from his lodging on the Pillar*, to make answer to the Messenger from the *Religious Men of the Holy Desert* ;—who indeed had orders, if he refused to come down, to compel him by force ; but who, as soon as he saw him

* Ware's Antiq. p. 131.

† Gibbon's History, Vol. VI. p. 265, 266, octavo edition.

‡ Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 4.

§ Euagrius Scholasticus, lib. i. ca. 13.

yielding to the exhortation, begin to rise, in order to come down, was convinced, and allowed him to be an holy man.*

The supposition also of Symeon's standing fixed continually like a statue, or like an Indian Bramin Devotee, is rendered almost impossible, if we do but consider how improbable it was

* The mode of life adopted by *Symeon Stylites*, has been spoken of, with horror, by writers of very different descriptions.—By those, by whom he has been admired;—by certain pious Christians;—he has, with reverential horror, been considered, as one of the most suffering, self denying, abstracted, humble, heavenly beings, of all mankind:—whilst, by certain even candid, ingenuous, good minds, loathing the fetters of unreasonable superstition;—and still more by infidels, deriding all good intentions, he has with contemptuous horror been considered, as most absurdly, and fanatically, flinging away all the comforts of life; and as voluntarily suffering dire imprisonment, and wretchedness, without any benefit either to himself, or to the rest of the world.—But perhaps neither the praise, nor the censure, were rightly bestowed; nor were any of these conclusions just.—Human nature is a most strange compound; and under most uncommon circumstances, finds *resources* in a most astonishing manner.—Retirement, and seclusion, by habit, become not only easy, but pleasant:—and abstract meditation, and contemplation, to a mind that has any energetical powers, soon becomes most delightful.—*Symeon's* situation, on the top of his high Pillar, placed him in a purer air, and free from the noxious filth of Eastern streets.—It afforded him also, for amusement, a more enlarged, and more constant view of all that passed near the Church of *Mandria*, or in its environs.—In an atmosphere so pure, and in such a situation, he could scarce fail of being somewhat of an observant astronomer, and of becoming a delighted spectator of the motions of the heavenly bodies, and of all the phænomena of the atmosphere.—The same cord that brought him up his food, and water, might bring him up such books, and paper writings, as the age afforded.—The very strange, and long-continued, repeatedly lifting up of his arms, and his prostrations, in his devotions, which have been so oddly described, might afford him exercise sufficient for health:—the numerous votaries who came to consult him, and to ask for his prayers; to whom he preached; and with whom he could also certainly audibly converse, might prevent both what the French call *ennui*, and also depression of mind; whether he were a sincere, and good man; or even a crafty impostor; or a mad enthusiast.—In such a mild climate, where people in general, even delighted to sleep exposed on the roofs of their houses, a few garments would keep him warm.—And a sparing vegetable diet, would be the most wholesome.—On the top of his Pillar, he was not liable to be impertinently molested.—And his very long life, induces a suspicion at least, that he lived a tolerably comfortable one.—It was certainly an odd way of obtaining comfort, but it is by no means certain, that he did not obtain it, beyond his fellows beneath.

And as to the perilousness of his situation, it was most probably much less than has been apprehended;—for though, through deception of sight, to those standing on the ground, the top of his Pillar has been reported to have been *only about two feet and an half in diameter*, yet that must have been a mistake:—and from the very words used, in the History, of its gradual construction, it must have been large enough, the whole way

that any persons should mount the Pillar daily, either to feed him, or to keep him in such cleanliness as was even needful for existence.

up, for a dwelling, or abode;—probably at least seven feet in diameter, within the circular wall at the top.—And in such a situation a person might easily stand, in perfect safety; even though, for the sake of being seen, when preaching, he might mount himself upon an elevated *little column*, or pedestal, of two feet and an half in diameter, (possibly of wood, though somewhat like those on which the Statues of *Trajan*, and of *Antoninus* stood), placed in the midst of his upper flooring; which, after all, might probably be what was meant by the Pillar itself ending at the top in such small dimensions, as *Raderus* describes.

Whoever reads the account of the dreadful persecution, and torments endured by the Christians, in Egypt, and in Palestine, under *Decius*, and in the time of the Emperors *Maximinus*, and *Diocletian*, (as related by the good Eusebius, in his eighth Book, who was an eye-witness of the sufferings of many martyrs, and particularly of his own excellent friend, and instructor Pamphilus),* will not be at a loss to account for the manner, in which recluse dwelling in a wilderness, and with much self-denial, in the most retired, desert spots, and in the most sequestered manner, easily took place; and afterwards became habitual, in the early ages.—Much less will he be surprised, when he considers, how (even after the respite given in the first years of Constantine's reign) many good persons were driven, by the tyranny, and persecution of *Licinius*, to fly sequestered, (to use the words of Eusebius†), to the fields, the deserts, the woods, and the mountains;—to avoid being first imprisoned, and having their bodies cut into small pieces and flung into the sea, and the having those who did but look upon them, or shew them kindness in prison, subjected to the same punishment.

And on the other hand, whoever well considers what *Eusebius* says concerning the attired philosophical habit,‡ which Christians in those days wore, even as a mark of a contemplative, and serious mode of life, in order to recommend their profession, in the eyes of the wisest among the heathen; who themselves adopted that mode;—and whoever recollects what has been already said, in the preceding pages,§ of their imitation of the Philosophers,—will not be at a loss to discern, how corruptions crept in; even by the austerities of Pillar Hermits, or others.—Whilst, at the same time, whoever duly reflects upon what *Eusebius*, in the very same chapter,|| honestly acknowledges, concerning the misconduct and selfish dispositions of several who had yet been *Christian Confessors*, (over which he wishes to draw a veil), will not wonder, that at last, in days of more quiet, any corruptions should take place; even to the degree that is mentioned by *Mosheim*, Vol. II. p. 124, 125, 130, 131, 171.

Paul, the first hermit, had fled from the persecution under *Decius*, about the year 250, into the desert of *Thebais*, at the age of twenty-two, and there lived to the age of 113.—And it has been justly suggested by *Mosheim*,¶—that as the hermits' manner of life first became common amongst Christians in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, as it had, long before the promulgation of the Gospel, been common in *Indies*:—so in those arid

* Lib. viii. ca. 29.

† See p. 46, in this Volume.

‡ Eusebius Eccl. His. lib. x. ca. 8.

+ Lib. viii. ca. 29.

§ Lib. viii. ca. 30.

¶ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 275.

The second *Symeon*, and the other *Stilitæ*, we are informed, like the first, *taught the gazing multitude*,*—*declaimed against heresy*,†—

and burning climates, the glowing atmosphere surrounding those countries, might even be a natural cause of a love of solitude, and repose, and of an indolent and melancholy disposition;—and it may be added, might also the more easily lead to holy contemplation.

It ought not to be forgotten, that even in later ages, and in these western parts of the world, about the seventh century, (according to the apprehensions of Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 171), the very first foundations of the great Reformation itself, were laid, by persons retiring to a sort of hermitical sequestration, in somewhat a similar manner, for quiet, and safety, into the Vallies of Piedmont, namely, the *Valdenses*, and *Vaudois*.

The excessive severities, and rigid austerities of the *Bramins* in India, are well known:—their fixed position for years, and to the end of their days, as statues, in one certain posture;—their self-tormenting of themselves; by hanging on hooks; and with fire.—The mistaken principles, and subtle doctrines, from whence the enduring of these penances proceeded, are also now well known.—But whereas the learned Mosheim attributes the first introduction of monkish austerities, and retirement, to the *Gnostic Christians*, having adopted some principles of that Eastern philosophy;‡ I must venture to add, that however such adoption of false philosophy, and false principles, might take place in the minds of Recluses afterwards, surely we need not go so far to account for the first introduction of these sequestered modes of dwelling, amongst Christians, and especially as we can hardly give credit to the supposition, that either *Paul*, or *Anthony*, or *Symeon*, had ever opportunities of acquiring such extensive learning, as should make them acquainted either with *Bramin opinions*, or with *Bramin usages*.—much less can we suppose, that the enormous body of the monastic order, (to use the words of Mosheim himself, Vol. II. p. 116, 117), out of whom whole armies might have been raised, without any sensible diminution, (so rapid was its growth in a very few centuries,) could contain many members who had any such extensive erudition.

* Spanheim's Eccles. Hist. p. 1154.—Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 49, 50.

† Those that have ever remarked, with what advantage a voice is heard from an high Building, or from the top of a Rock, will not think it strange, that any one of these Pillars should have been sometimes made use of, by its inhabiting hermit, as a *preaching Tower*.

Nor should it be a matter of surprise, or any objection, that such preaching should be either in the open air, or near to a Church; when usages, of preaching in the open air, near to a Church, have taken place, even in those Western countries, where *Pillar Towers* were never introduced.—Somewhat such was the preaching of *Bishop Oswald*, about A. D. 983, to his crowded audiences, in the open area of St. Peter's Church, at *Worcester*;§ taking his stand near a stone cross, that was erected, over the remains of *Duke Wiferd*.—Such was originally the custom of preaching at *St. Paul's Cross* at London; the practice of which, on special occasions, continued even till the Reformation: whilst Stow, in his Survey, professes (p. 357) that the "original, or antiquity of *Paul's Cross* was unknown to him;—such seem to have been the first *Spittle* (or *Spital*) sermons;

‡ See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 85, 135, 137, and Vol. II. p. 47, 49, 50.

§ Green's History of Worcester, Vol. I. p. 31.

pretended to cast out devils,—to heal diseases,—and to foretel future events.—And the second *Symeon* continued living upon his Pillar sixty-eight years.

With regard to Mr. Molyneux's conclusion,* that the *Irish Pillar Towers were built by the Danes*;—it is no more to be allowed, than that the great *British Barrows* were raised by the *Danes*.—For surely, there needs no stronger proof of the error of this conclusion, than that *the Danes* built no such Structures in *England*, where they made so much longer abode than in *Ireland*:+—nor are there any such Buildings known to exist, in any part of *Denmark* itself.—To which it may be added, that the words of *Cambrensis*, who visited Ireland only twelve years after the English Invasion of that country, evidently (in whatever manner translated) imply, that they were built, after a fashion, and usage, and according to an observance, that had been introduced (some how or other) *amongst the Irish themselves*. His words are,—*Turres Ecclesiasticas quæ, more Patriæ, arctæ sunt, et altæ, nec non rotundæ.*—And *more Patriæ*—after the manner or observance of the country,—must imply an usage, and observance, longer established than merely by an invasion of the *Danes*;—whilst (as Harris in his edition of Ware's Antiquities observes)† *Cambrensis*, whose constant inclination was to disparage the *Irish*, would have been glad to have given the credit of such ingenious Structures rather to the *Danes*, than to *them*;—if he could but have found any of the descendants of the *Danes*, (some of whom at that very time were even numbered amongst the Irish Prelates), who could have been able to sanction any such tradition:—a tradition, which, for the

—such was the preaching, in antient times, in the *Green-yard*, now annexed to the Bishop's Palace, near the Cathedral at Norwich;—and indeed such was the preaching in many other places, near *Stone Crosses*.

And it ought not to pass by unnoticed, that a very remarkable *large Cross* is actually found, still remaining, near the Pillar Tower at *Monaster Boyce*, (see Pl. LV. Fig. 3), and that a *cross* is also, carved, on the Pillar Tower at *Brechin*, (see Pl. LV. Fig. 1).

* In his Discourse, at the end of Boat's Natural History, p. 211.

+ Ware's Antiquities, Harris's ed. p. 129.

† P. 132, 133.

honour of their ancestors, they would not have failed to have supported, had it been in their power.

And now, as the Pillar of the first *Symeon Stylites*, may, consistently with the fairest reasoning, be considered as some distant imitation, (though with different materials), of the Pillars of *Trajan*, and of *Antoninus*, at Rome, or of those at Constantinople;—it may not be amiss, for the sake of placing all that relates to the subject in one comprehensive, comparative point of view, to add the dimensions of those Pillars.

Trajan's Pillar at Rome is, according to some accounts,* one hundred and forty-four;—according to others,† one hundred and twenty-four feet in height;—and according to Le Bruyn‡ only one hundred and twenty-three feet;—but according to Professor Martyn,§ one hundred and twenty-eight feet in height:—whilst Martin Folkes,|| who measured every part separately, in 1736, makes the whole height, from the ground to the top of the cimatum of the Capital, 115 feet, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

This difference in these accounts, however, may be tolerably well reconciled, by the measuring, or not measuring, together with the shaft of the Column, and its great Pedestal, the height of the Capital, and of the Statue, and of its little Base, or separate Pedestal, now placed at the top, which is just about twenty-one feet; and by the difference between Italian, French, and English feet: allowing for which, these apparently incongruous dimensions, agree nearly with the measures given us by *Bartoli*.

Bartoli, in his fine representation of this Column, and its Sculptures,¶ makes its whole

	Feet.	Inches.
Diameter, at bottom, about 12 feet, 8 min,—that		
is rather more than 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto at the top	10	6
Its whole diameter within, at the bottom	8	0

* Universal History, Vol. XV. p. 145.

† Le Bruyn, Vol. I. p. 153.

|| Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 118.

+ Misson's Travels, Vol. III. p. 155.

§ Tour through Italy, p. 149.

¶ Printed at Rome, A. D. 1675.

	Feet.	Inches.
The thickness of the stone cylindrical wall, 2 feet, 4 min,—that is rather more than $2\frac{1}{8}$ feet	2	$0\frac{1}{4}$
The width of the steps	2	6
The Newel, or solid Pillar in the middle	3	0
The height of its Shaft	90	6
The height of its Capital	4	0
The height of its Pedestal	23	4
The whole height	117	10
The height of the Statue	13	0
And the height of the little Pedestal, on which the Statue is placed	8	0
And the square of the great Pedestal, at bottom	18	4
Or with its projecting Base	21	0
The whole <i>detail</i> of the exact dimensions of every part of the height, as given by <i>Bartoli</i> , are as follows :		

	Pie.	On.	Mi.	Pie.	On.	Mi.
Dado	2	1	0			
Base del Piedestallo	2	4	2			
Piedestallo	10	3	0			
Cornice	1	1	0			
Guscio	2	3	0			
Whole Pedestal	28	0	2	28	0	2
Base cive il plinto col toro	5	6	0			
Dall' imo scapo alla cima, com- presoui tutto il Collarino, il fuso della Colonna è alto	90	6	0			
Capitello	4	0	0			
Whole Pillar, with Base and Capital	100	0	2	100	0	2
Whole height of Column				128	0	2
Piedestallo con la Cimasa	8	6	0			
Base della Statua	8	0	0			

	Pie.	On.	Mi.	Pie.	On.	Mi.
Height of little Pedestal, and Base of Statue — —	16	6	0	16	6	0
Whole height from the ground to the feet of the Statue — — —	144	6	2			
Statua di S. Pietro — — —	13	0	0			
Whole height, from the ground, of the Column, and of the little Pedestal, and Statue, all together — — —	157	6	2			

This magnificent Column, Keysler says, is formed of thirty-four vast blocks of marble;—*whereof the Base consists of eight; the Pedestal of one stone; and the *torus* also of one; and the Capital of one: and the shaft, which alone, according to Bartoli, is ninety feet and an half; or, according to Professor Martyn,† ninety-two feet and an half in height; is composed of twenty-three great Cylinders, piled one upon another; from whence it would follow, that each of them must be about twelve feet in diameter, (the lower ones somewhat more, and the upper ones somewhat less) and must each be about four feet thick.—But Martin Folkes, who measured the whole in 1736, says,‡ there are eight stones in the Pedestal, nineteen in the Pillar, and three in the basis of the Statue; and that each of the cylindrical stones is either five, or nearly five feet thick. These great Cylinders have steps, for a staircase, hollowed out of the solid stone; and made winding round a solid Newel, or Pillar, left in the middle;—and of these steps there are one hundred and eighty-four, from the ground to the top of the Column.§

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the stones were

* Keysler's Travels, Vol. II. p. 460.

† The Botanical Professor at Cambridge. See his Tour in Italy, p. 149. Perhaps his measure includes the *torus*.

‡ Archæologia, Vol. I. p. 117.

§ Tradition says, that an Urn, containing the Ashes of Trajan, was formerly placed on the top of this Column.—And it has already been mentioned, in this Volume, p. 39, that a piece of the Sacred Cross, sent by the Empress Helena, from Jerusalem, was by her Son, the Emperor Constantine, inclosed in a Statue of himself, placed on the summit of a Column at Constantinople.

placed one upon another, without any cement;* and now have not even cramps to unite them; the Goths having wrenched them all out: nevertheless the whole Pillar stands as firm as ever; the inner surfaces of the stones having been worked so even, that the joints are scarcely visible. This Pillar was the work of the celebrated Architect, *Apollodorus* of Damascus; whose disregard for *Adrian's* skill cost him his life.

The same curious Investigator of Antient Remains, who has given us such exact delineations of *Trajan's* Pillar, has also delineated that of *Antoninus*; and makes the whole height of the Pillar of *Antoninus*, from the ground, to the summit, one hundred and sixty-eight feet;—the whole height of the Column itself being about one hundred and twenty-six feet, and of its great Pedestal about forty-two feet, and the diameter of its shaft between twelve and fourteen feet; whilst the side of the square Pedestal, at bottom, is twenty-eight feet.

Professor *Martyn*† makes the shaft of the Pillar alone, to be one hundred and six feet high; which agrees very tolerably with *Bartoli's* measures, if we leave out the Capital, and the Torus, and Base of the Pillar.—Whilst as to *Bartoli's* measure of one hundred and sixty-eight feet, it will be found, (by any one who measures the elevation he has given, by the same scale as that of the Base), that the one hundred and sixty-eight feet, reach from the ground to the feet of the Statue of St. Paul; including not only the whole Base, and Pedestal of the Column, but the Pedestal also of the Statue.‡

* Vast and ponderous as these stones are, they are still surpassed, by that placed on the top of the Tomb of Theodoric; which has been already mentioned, Vol. I. p. 265; and is above thirty feet in diameter. It is above five feet in thickness; and some observers, measuring probably along the curvature at top, have made its diameter to be thirty-eight feet.

† Tour through Italy, p. 149.—Misson says, Vol. III. p. 155, that the trunk of the Pillar is one hundred and sixty Roman feet high, which are equivalent to one hundred and fifty-five feet; that it consists of twenty-eight stones, and that the Stairs consist of two hundred and six steps.—This account, however, evidently includes the Pedestal, and is perplexed by the difference of French, and Roman, and English feet.—Keysler says, Vol. II. p. 456, the whole Column is one hundred and eighty feet high, and has one hundred and ninety-two steps; but he evidently takes in the height of the Statue.—In the *Parentalia*, it is said to be one hundred and seventy-two feet and an half in height, and only twelve feet three inches in diameter.

‡ A plummet line inadvertently placed, by the Engraver, may mislead any person, on a transient view, to suppose that the measure reached only to the top of the Capital.

The bass-reliefs on this Pillar are by no means so well carved as those on Trajan's; and it should indeed much rather be called the Pillar of *Marcus Aurelius*, than of *Antoninus*.

The height of the *Historical Pillar*, or Pillar of *Arcadius*, at Constantinople, was, according to Le Bruyn,* and Gyllius, one hundred and forty-seven feet.—But it was so environed with Houses, in Le Bruyn's time, that he could not himself examine its Base.—It stood in the *Aurat Basir*, or Woman's Market; and in Sandys's time was not so incumbered with Buildings.—He has given us a tolerable view of it;†—and his words are, “it was “to be ascended within, far surpassing both *Trajan's*, and that “of *Antonius*, which I have seene in *Rome*; the workman having “so proportioned the figures, that the highest and lowest appear “of one bignesse.”—The same Author also saw the Pillar of *Constantine*, in the same City, and has given us the Greek inscription, which was to be seen near the top of it.‡

Pompey's Pillar, in Egypt, at Alexandria, is, according to Greaves,§ seventy feet in height; according to Le Bruyn,|| ninety-four feet; and according to Norden,¶ and Pococke,** one hundred and fourteen feet, and its diameter only about nine feet.—But being so slender, it is solid, and has no Staircase within it.—The different measures given by Le Bruyn, and Pococke, may be tolerably reconciled, by adding, or leaving out, the Base, and

* Voyages De Le Bruyn, Tom. I. p. 153.

† Sandy's Travels, p. 35.

‡ This fine *Historical Pillar* fell, about the year 1715.—Lady M. W. Montague says expressly, in her Letters, (Vol. I. p. 21), it dropped down about two years before she visited Constantinople.—Possibly it had been undermined by the Turks; who had been greatly enraged (as both Grellet, and Le Bruyn, Vol. I. p. 155, tell us), by a young traveller's imprudence; who, having with great difficulty obtained permission to ascend to the summit, not only exposed himself to sight, which he had been strictly cautioned not to do, but openly waved his handkerchief, at the end of his stick.—Le Bruyn saw, and greatly admired this Column, in the year 1677, and says, (Vol. I. p. 153), on the authority of P. Gyllius, that it was higher than that of *Trajan* at Rome, and had one hundred and forty-seven steps.—Pococke says merely, (Vol. II. Part II. p. 132), the Pillar was taken down about thirty years before he was at Constantinople.

§ See his *Pyramidographia*, Vol. II. p. 514.

|| Le Bruyn's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 119.

¶ Norden's Travels, Vol. I. p. 9.

** Pococke, Vol. I. p. 8. By an observation of the shadow, he made the Pedestal to be above twelve feet high, exclusive of the foundation stones, or plinths;—the shaft of the Pillar about eighty-eight feet, nine inches high;—and the Capital about nine feet high.

Capital.—But it hardly is a proper object to be referred to, because it is not hollow.

The giving an exact account of the dimensions of *the Monument of London*, will, however, unquestionably be useful on this occasion; because it will enable us to form a more precise idea, of the apparent bulk, of all the *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars*, that we have been describing; and will comparatively lead to a more full investigation of the peculiarity of their Architecture.

The Monument of London, according to the description given of it, in the *Parentalia*;^{*} and from actual measures, which I have myself caused to be taken, in order to supply what has been omitted in the *Parentalia*; is in its dimensions, as follows.

	Feet.	Inches.
Diameter of the Shaft, at the bottom —	15	0
— at the top —	14	4
Its circumference —	45	0
Its whole diameter, <i>within</i> —	9	0
Thickness of its cylindrical wall, at bottom —	3	0
— at the top —	2	8
Width of the steps —	3	0
Breadth of each step, near the wall —	1	3
Depth of each step —	0	6
Number of steps from the ground, 345.		
Diameter of void circular space, left within the Staircase, instead of there being a Newel, or solid Pillar —	3	0
Height of the Shaft of the Pillar, exclusive of its Base —	130	6
Whole height of the Column, from the pavement	202	0
Height of the Cippus, or Meta, at top —	32	0
Height of the great Pedestal, at bottom —	40	0
Side of the Plinth of the great square Pedestal, at the bottom of the whole —	28	0

And now, finally, the placing before the eye, at once in the following table, the entire diameters;—and the *diameters within*;—and the thickness of the cylindrical walls;—and the respective heights of all these *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars* (as far as they have been ascertained); may perhaps tend to fling still greater additional light upon the subject.

^{*} Parentalia, p. 322.

These dimensions are as follows.*

	Whole diameter at bottom.		Diameter within.		Thickness of the circular Wall.		Present Height.	
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
Tower at <i>Brechin</i> , in Scotland -	16	0	8	0	4	0	80	0
at <i>Abernethy</i> , in Scotland	14	8	8	0	3	4	75	0
Tower at <i>Ardmore</i> , in Ireland -	15	0	8	0	-	-	100	0
at <i>Cloyne</i> -	16	0	10	0	-	-	92	0
at <i>Kinnith</i> - - -	13	6	7	6	3	0	70	0
at <i>Drumboe</i> ⁺ - - -	16	0	9	0	3	6	35	0
at <i>Down Patrick</i> -	14	0	8	0	3	0	60	0
at <i>Devenish</i> - - -	13	6	7	6	3	0	76	0
at <i>Kildare</i> - - -	15	0	8	0	-	-	132	0
at <i>Donoghmore</i> - -	15	0	8	0	-	-	-	-
at <i>St. Canice</i> - - -	15	0	8	0	-	-	-	-
at <i>Clondalkin</i> - - -	15	0	8	0	-	-	84	0
at <i>Cashel</i> - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
at <i>Seven Churches</i> -	17	0	9	0	4	0	110	0
at <i>Kilcullen</i> [†] - - -	15	0	8	0	3	6	40	0
at <i>Turlogh</i> - - - -	16	0	9	0	-	-	70	0
at <i>Timahoe</i> - - - -	17	8	9	0	4	4	-	-
at <i>Ardfert</i> - - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	0
at <i>Monaster Boice</i> -	18	0	11	0	3	6	110	0
at <i>Kilmacduach</i> - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
at <i>Clonmac-</i> } O'Rourke's	19	0	12	0	-	-	62	0
nois, } M'Carthy's	13	0	7	0	3	0	56	0
Trajan's Pillar, at Rome, is, in the dimensions of its Shaft -	12	1½	8	0	2	0¾	92	6
Antoninus's Pillar is, in the dimensions of its Shaft -	12	3	8	0	2	6	106	0
Arcadius's Pillar, at Constantino-ple, must have been about -	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	0
Pompey's Column, in Egypt -	9	0	-	-	-	-	88	9
The Monument at London, is, in the dimensions of its Shaft -	15	0	9	0	3	0	130	6

* In this table I have given the *diameters within*; and the *thickness of the cylindrical walls*, only in those *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars*, where they have been *actually* measured: —but the *entire diameters* of all, where the inside has been measured, are given; computing the thickness of the walls (where that has not been *actually* measured) as being generally three feet and an half.

+ † A part of each of these two Towers, has either been taken down; or has fallen down.



Breeshin



Down



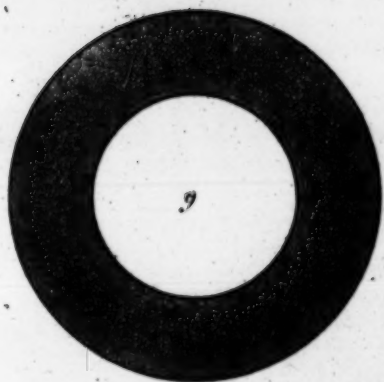
Patrick



Abernethy

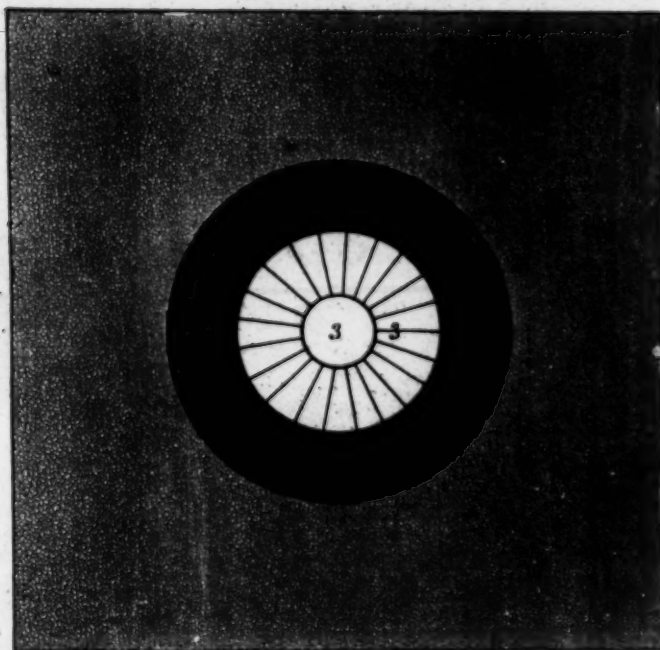
Monaster

Boice



Drumbar

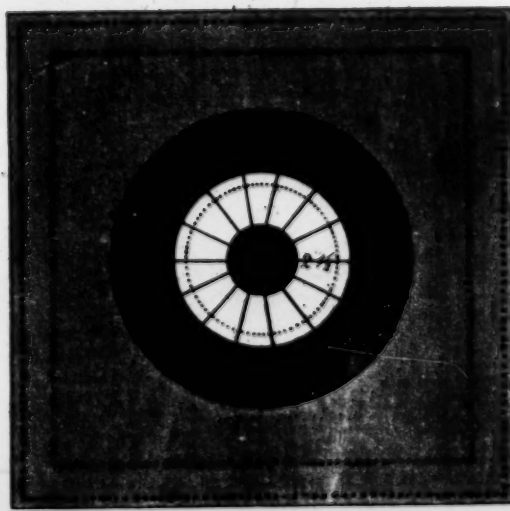
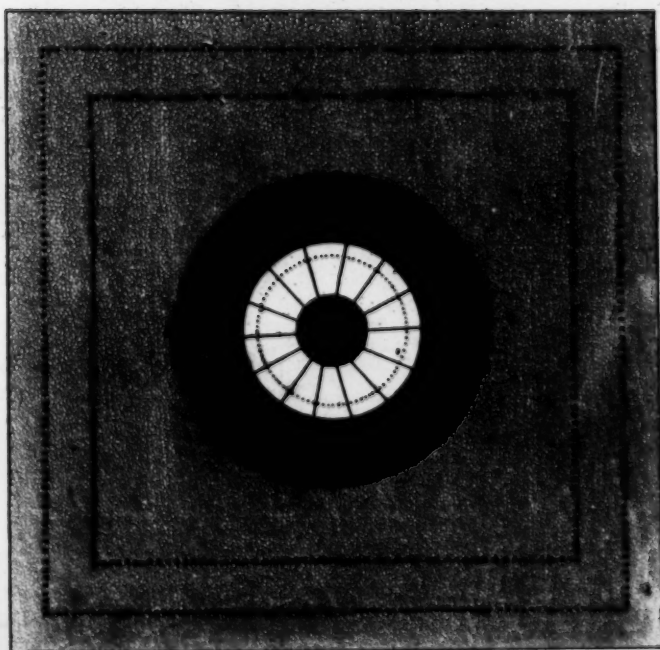
Timahoe



Devenish

Kinnith

28
Monument



28
Pillar of Antoninus

21
Trajan's Pillar

In Pl. LVIII. for further illustration, are added, Plans of several of these *Pillar Towers*, and *Pillars*, drawn upon one and the same scale: and the *nearness* of the proportions, with regard to the *diameters within*, and with regard to the *thickness of the walls*, both in the *Hermits' Pillar Towers*, and in the *Pillars of Trajan*, and *Antoninus*, cannot but be striking to every eye, and to the conviction of every mind.

Perhaps the reason why no traces of any mode of ascent, except by a ladder, in any of the *Pillar Towers* in *Ireland*, are ever found, may have been; not only that they were *designedly* constructed originally without any Staircase, for the sake of rendering the *Hermit's* abode more secure, and inaccessible by this means; as well as by the height of the door from the ground; but it may also have been, in part, a consequence of want of skill, or of means to obtain stones hewn large enough to build one.*

If the *Pillar of Symeon*, and other *Hermit's Pillars* in *Syria*, and

* I am not aware of there having been any *Pillar*, or any *tall, slender Tower*, built any where in the world, with *small stones*, such as might be carried up by hand, on a ladder, before the time of *Symeon Stylites*; or even before the time, when some of the *Pillar Towers* in *Ireland* must have existed.

And on this occasion, it is perhaps a justice due to the memory of our great, and celebrated Architect, *Sir Christopher Wren*, to add, that on close examination, and due consideration, his fine Column, the *Monument of London*, appears to surpass all the other *Pillars*, and *Pillar Towers*, in the World, in its ingenious construction.—For whilst we admire the magnificence of the *Pillars of Trajan*, and of *Antoninus*; and their immense stones, twelve feet and an half in diameter, and above four feet thick, (which must probably have been conveyed up by artificial mounts; and whose Staircase, hollowed within them, for greater strength has a *solid Newel, or Pillar, left in the midst*);—it ought to be considered, that the *Monument of London*, whose Shaft is so much higher than either, is not only composed of stones of small scantlings, but has a geometrical Staircase, without any *Newel, or central Pillar*, and apparently as it were hanging in the air;—to which may be added, that the whole Shaft was *fluted*, after it was built;—and yet, notwithstanding the vain fears of some spectators, this Column is probably as firm, and as capable of standing for ages, as either of the others.—Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the Staircase, instead of having uneasy deep steps like those, has an easy ascent, the whole way up; the steps being each only six inches deep; and there being about twenty-one steps in each whirl; whereas, in the *Pillars of Trajan*, and of *Antoninus*, there are (according to *Bartoli*) only fourteen steps in each whirl. See the *Parentalia*, p. 322, 323.

Surely it required more science, and skill, and more wonderful artificial contrivance, to rear such a Structure, and Staircase, as was this work of *Sir Christopher Wren*; than

if the *Irish Pillar Towers*, were each built, by slow, and gradual degrees, by each Hermit himself; (as was very possibly the case); they must all have been built with *small stones*, such as one man alone might easily carry up upon a ladder:—and with such the *Irish Towers* do indeed appear to have been actually built.—And, in that case, their Architecture not only forms a curious contrast, to the vast *cylindrical blocks*, of which the magnificent Pillars of *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *Arcadius*, were constructed; but this mode of rearing *lofty Edifices*, merely with *small stones*, and by means only of a ladder, might even first give the hint to those *Fraternities of Builders*, who afterwards contrived to rear the magnificent Pillars of so many fine Cathedrals, with their vast *pointed Arches*;—and might be even a means of bringing the *pointed Arch* into use.*

even to hew out of the quarry, and to place in their proper situations, by means of artificial mounts, raised on the occasion, and by the help of rollers, those vast stones, of which the work of *Apollodorus* was constructed; and to hew out of their substance a *Newel Staircase*.

* In the *Parentalia*, (p. 306, 307), amongst the many curious remarks made by Sir *Christopher Wren*, and the interesting circumstances said to have been noticed by him, is the following.—That some Italians, in concert with some *Greek Refugees*, and with some *French*, *Germans*, and *Flemings*, joined into a *fraternity of Architects*, (about the time that the *Saracens*, and *Turks*, destroyed the Eastern Empire); and having obtained *Papal Bulls*, stiled themselves *Free-masons*, and for some ages, ranged, from one nation to another, where-ever they could find employment, to build Churches;—that they accommodated their Architecture to such materials as every country readily afforded;—that few stones were ever used by them, but what one man might carry up a ladder;—that they had no need of great engines;—stone upon stone being easily piled up to great heights;—and that they used the sharp-headed Arch, (*the pointed Arch*), which would rise with *little centering*;—required lighter key-stones;—and less butment;—and yet would bear another row of doubled Arches, rising from the key-stone;—or even (as is observed in another place, p. 297) might stand without any key-stone at all.—The substance of this account, I have now thus extracted, and here inserted, because it tends to shew, that this mode of raising *lofty Buildings*, with *small stones*, was derived from *Greek Architects*;—and from *Refugees*, who had been members of the *Eastern Church*:—though I can by no means accede to Sir *Christopher Wren*'s conclusion, that the *pointed Arch* was derived from the *Saracens*:—or even introduced in Syria, or the East, or on the Continent of Europe, before it had been introduced in England: and shall be able, if I live to complete this Work, to bring strong proofs to the contrary; when I come to speak of the first introduction of the *pointed Arch*.

The accurate, and indefatigable Mr. Essex, has ascertained, by means of repeated examination, that the stones used by the Architects, employed by the *Saxons*, and *Normans*, seldom exceeded seven or eight inches in their dimensions. See his very curious account in the *Archæologia*, Vol. IV. p. 94, 95, 98, 103.

—For it was not till the twelfth century, that *Hermits dwelling on Pillars*, was put an end to.*

It is a very curious circumstance, to discern, how Christianity, even in the midst of all its corruptions, has yet tended continually to preserve, extend, and increase the knowledge of useful arts ;—and to civilize the most distant parts of the earth.

And though not only *Stylites*, or Pillar Hermits ; but St. *Patrick*, and *Congall*, and St. *Columba*, and other of the first rough Preachers of The Holy Gospel, amongst the Irish, the Picts, and the Scots ; and also *Winfred*, (or *Boniface*) and *Lebuin*, our countrymen, who first converted the Germans ;—and *Corbinian*, and *Firmin*, Gauls, who converted the Swiss to the Christian faith ; may deserve the censures which *Mosheim* has passed upon some parts of their conduct :+—yet it ought ever to be considered, that rude, ignorant, prejudiced, and savage barbarians, could at first be brought to attend to Divine Truth,—and to hear with any effect,—only by means adapted to their state, and capacities :—and that, after all,—by the pious labours, and hard endurance of these zealous men, these savage countries *were actually converted* (though in an imperfect manner) to Christianity ;—and *Civilization was with effect begun* ;—leading the way, to what we cannot but acknowledge with gratitude, even amidst all the troubles that still prevail in the world, to be a much improved state of things on earth ;—and a prelude to the accomplishment of that final Mighty Work, (by whatever means Infinite Wisdom shall think fit to bring it to pass), when *The whole earth shall become full of the Knowledge of THE LORD*; and Universal Good Will shall prevail.

* See *Mosheim*, Vol. II. p. 50.

+ Vol. II. p. 117, 207.

‡ Isaiah, ch. 11, ver. 9. —With regard to the rude preaching, and labours of the *Pillar Hermits*; and also of the early Missionaries, concerning whom we have been speaking ; surely we ought not to lose sight of, but even deeply to consider, the very remarkable words of the Great Apostle of the Gentiles.—(Philippians, chap. i. ver. 15, 16, 17, 18).—*Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife : and some also of good will. —The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, but supposing to add affliction to my bonds :—but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the Gospel.—What then ?—Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached : and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.*

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CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL (1955)

WORK SHEET

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OF SOME FEW

INCIDENTAL CIRCUMSTANCES,

AND OF SOME

PECULIAR PASSAGES;

IN

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APPENDIX,

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ANSWERS TO M. P. L. DUTENS.

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ANSWERS TO M. P. L. DUTENS,
IN REPLY TO
HIS SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH PUBLICATIONS,
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE
INVENTION OF THE ARCH,

BY
EDWARD KING, ESQ. F.R.S. F.A.S.

LONDON:
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FOR G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL
1806.

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1800.

A P P E N D I X.

As the only object, in pursuit of which, I have indulged a spirit of inquiry, and have ventured to communicate my thoughts, and conclusions to the Public, was the sincere investigation of truth :—and as I ever have professed, and still do profess, to avoid the imposing opinions upon any man ;—and only wish to state facts fairly, leaving every one to form his own judgment ;—so now, though I deem myself called upon, in support of the cause of truth, to reply to the somewhat dogmatising observations of M. L. Dutens, in his *second* publication, which he has sent to me, on the subject of the *Invention of the Arch*, yet I shall content myself simply, with clearing from confusion, such things as obviously have been by him confounded together, and deserve to be distinguished, one from another ;—with answering his gross misrepresentations, concerning my remarks ;—and with explaining, a little more fully, what appears to have been misapprehended ;—not even retorting the words of Mr. Dutens, which he has thought fit to make use of with regard to me,—*il me remerciera alors de lui avoir donné l'occasion de rectifier son erreur*.—I cannot but assure him, however, at the same time, that as far as I can deduce any conclusions from positive facts, I must not only (instead of returning him thanks) still be led to adhere to my former apprehensions, as expressed in the Introduction to this Volume, concerning the date of the *Invention of the Arch* ; but must, since his last publication, be now even more strongly induced to do so than before.—To elucidate my reasons for this ; I shall now make my Remarks, on his last Publication, page by page.

M. L. Dutens begins these observations of his, with saying

that the words, נב, נב, in Hebrew, κοιλοσταθμός, in Greek,—and *fornix* in Latin,—have always been explained in Dictionaries, and by Translators, by the words, “*voûtes, arches, arcades*,” in French.—But this proves nothing:—for in reality κοιλοσταθμός signifies merely, in its true import, *I form a cavity, or covered place*:—*fornix*, in Latin, was a word in common use, which, even long after *arches* were really constructed, equally applied to them; and also to flues, which were covered with flat tiles, and had nothing like an arch in their construction:—and *voûte*, in French, means any place, covered over-head, by the meeting of inclining sides, whether really arched, or not:—and hence arises Mr. Dutens confusion of ideas:—whilst, at the same time, he himself allows, that these words also signify *κατὰ, dorsum*;—that is, in plain English, mere *back, or covering*.

He then adds, that ἀψίς, —βάσις, —καμάρα, —θόλος, —signify *apsis, —fornix, —concameratio, —tholus*, in Latin;—and *voûte, —arc, —arcade, —dôme*, in French.—But whilst we cannot but observe, that neither καμάρα, nor *concameratio*, were ever before thought of as describing an arch, or properly an arched covering, it must be, and ought to be added, that if even the words *apsis*,—and *tholus*,—and *voûte*,—can be supposed, in the ideas of any translators, really to have meant, always, some structure formed by regular arches, that yet, after all, this is substituting for truth, and fact, without allowing any opportunity for fair investigation, and inquiry, the mere *ipse dixit* of a Translator: whilst we too well know, that Translators do very often err in the choice, and application of words.

It is unquestionably true, that after the invention of the arch, these words, for want of more copious expressions, and instead of forming new ones, were frequently used by Greek Writers, to describe arched Buildings;—and this easily occasions confusion, in some instances.—But that confusion ought as much as possible to be now avoided;—and especially in instances, where the context, and even the precise description of the manner in which the Building was constructed, shew that no real arch was intended to be described by the word.

The real purport of a Lexicon, is to give *all* the different senses in which a word is made use of; and as far as possible to shew, by the context, as H. Stephens has done, in what manner it is applied on different occasions.—And it is confounding truth, to suppose, that because the words in question have been sometimes so applied as to denote *really arched* Buildings, that therefore they *always* did denote such.

Very doubtful indeed, must be the authority of French Translators, or indeed of any *mere Translators*, whose attention is generally confined to mere words, instead of being led to investigate the real nature of things; and who cannot be expected to have had leisure, or opportunity, sufficiently to examine existing remains of Architecture.

How should such persons come at the knowledge of *such* facts, as were necessary for the elucidation of a curious and intricate subject of this kind?—And what sort of credit can be given to the mere *ipse dixit* of any one of them, translating only in the best manner he was able, as far as the *imperfection* of language, and his *preconceived* ideas would permit?—Their authority, in this respect, is, in reality, no authority to be depended upon.

Mr. *Dutens* then proceeds (in p. 4) to cite the description of the Royal Treasury of *Orchomène*,—*bati 1350 ans avant J. C. par le Roy Minyas*;—as it appeared when seen by *Pausanias*.—But to say nothing of the probability, that the Building seen by *Pausanias*, the Traveller, near one hundred and fifty years after the beginning of the Christian æra, was a mere re-edification of that which had been built 1350 years A. C.,—the very words of the Greek* shew, that *Pausanias* himself really does not describe what can be conceived to have been an *arched dome*:—and even the words of the *French* translation, produced by Mr. *Dutens* himself, prove

* A precise close translation of these words has already been given, in my Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 17, concerning the Arch:—from whence it seems most obvious, that the covering was of the form of the *frustrum* of a cone;—*conical*; only not continued up to a sharp point.—The same description as that of *Pausanias*, might very well be given of several most antient Hindoo Structures, still remaining in India, in which there is, nevertheless, nothing like an *arch*, or an *arched dome*.

the same thing;—for “*une espèce de rotonde un peu aplatie* ;”—
a kind of rotunda, a little flattened, can never mean a really arched
dome, if the words, a little flattened, have any meaning at all.

He then, in the same page, mentions two Tombs, of Atreus,
and Agamemnon, which are *en voûte conique, ou en forme de bonnet* :—
—But Structures of such forms, can surely never have been
hemispherical domes.—By way of confirmation, however, of their
proving the high antiquity of Arches, he adds, on the authority
of M. Thomas Hope, “*dont les talens et la profonde intelligence
dans l’architecture et le dessin sont si bien connus*,” that the Walls of
Mycène, and the Tombs, were of the same sort of stone. This
to be sure proves, that the strata of the quarry, from whence they
were taken, did certainly exist before that City, or the Tombs, or
the Treasury, were built; but it does not prove that, either a
rotunda, (*un peu aplatie*) a little flattened,—or *un voûte conique*,—
(a vault in form of a cone), were any thing like real Arches.—Yet
does Mr. Dutens affirm, (p. 5,) “*On ne peut guères desirer de
plus fortes preuves de l’existence des voûtes long-tems avant le siècle
d’Auguste*.”

It is strange that he cannot yet perceive, that a vaulting, and a
really arched vaulting, are far from being necessarily the same
thing.

P. 5 and 6, contain observations, that require no notice on this
occasion.

But in (p. 7,) Mr. Dutens says, that *Sonini* describes *une voûte*, in
the Ruins of *Canopus*, in Egypt;—and that *Paul Lucas* describes
Bridges with fifteen arches; and some fine Aqueducts in Egypt.
—I will add, so also do *Pococke*, and *Norden*, and other Tra-
vellers, describe both Bridges, and Aqueducts in Egypt.—But
if Mr. Dutens will take the trouble to attend properly to them, he
will find, that those Arches, and Aqueducts, are so far from being
proofs of the existence of Arches, before the time of Augustus, that
they are indeed, most of them, the works of the Saracens;* and
several have even *Saracen inscriptions* upon them; to say nothing

* Some of these Causeways, and Bridges, have been already described by me, in the
first Volume of the *Munimenta*, p. 261, 262.

as to the rest, of the Emperor *Adrian*, (at whose command Arches are well known to have been constructed all over the Roman Empire,) having himself actually been in Egypt, and at *Canopus*; and of his having caused many Buildings to be reared in Egypt.

Mr. Dutens (in the same page) then cites *Maillet*, as describing *de longues voûtes* in the famous antient Labyrinth of Egypt.—But here again he suffers the general meaning of the word *voûte* to mislead him.—For from the exact, and particular description of the very mode of construction of the apartments of the Labyrinth, given us by *Herodotus*, whose words have been exactly cited by me, and closely translated, in Vol. II. p. 240, 241; as well as from the positive affirmation of *Pococke*, that the walls, even of the larger, and better rooms, *were covered with large stones of such a length as to be laid from wall to wall*, it appears, that these *de longues voûtes*, were vaults covered with flat stones.—Mr. Dutens nevertheless thinks fit to add, in (p. 22, 23,) “*Mr. King allègue le silence de Pocock comme une preuve que le Labyrinthe d’Egypte n’étoit pas soutenu par des voûtes*,”—(whereas *Pococke* is not silent; neither have I ever made any such allegation in my Book).—And then, in order to prove the existence of *Arches* in the Labyrinth, he refers to the representations of *Paul Lucas*, which we well know are of very slight authority;—indeed of no authority whatever;—and exults, saying, “*Pocock n’avoit pas vu cet édifice.—Paul Lucas l’avoit visité, et nous en a donné le dessin.—Preuve affirmative contre une négative.*”

Mr. Dutens would, perhaps, do well to read, before he writes;—and also to consider a little more closely.*—For those who carefully

* Mr. Dutens says, in his *Avant Propos*, speaking of his undertaking to investigate the subject concerning *Arches*;—*Je consacrai quelques heures de loisir à ce travail*;—I devoted a few hours of leisure to this subject;—but he ought to know, and to be informed, that a few hours of leisure devoted to such a subject, by a person who had never considered it before, were not sufficient for such an investigation, as should give him authority, to decide in so dictatorial a manner, against the result of the long, cautious, and patient enquiry, continued for many years, by one who was most careful in examining the original text of antient Authors, and who did not adopt his own conclusions, till compelled by the force of truth, and of indisputable facts;—and who really was inclined to think originally as Mr. Dutens does.

examine *his References* to Travellers, may perhaps find out, that some other of those which he refers to, as *voûtes*, were in fact, mere souterrains covered with *flat stones*; and that not one of his references, are of Buildings whose dates are sufficiently ascertained, to prove any thing to the purpose.—Surely nothing can be more unfair than to make use of this argument, (as he does, p. 8), in order to persuade us, that there existed *Arches* in the *Labyrinth*, though *Herodotus* did not see them;—“*et si Hérodote ne parle pas des voûtes qui soutenoient ce bâtiment, il en donne la raison, lorsqu'il dit qu'il ne lui avoit pas été permis de voir la partie inférieure.*”—

When we are assured *Herodotus* saw the whole interior of the Building above ground; though he saw not the subterraneous part. And when moreover what he says concerning it, is quite sufficient to discover the error of *Paul Lucas's* representations.

Mr. Dutens very artfully affirms, in the same page, —“*Mr. King dit que Pococke ne parle pas des voûtes du Labyrinthe; cela n'est pas étonnant: Pococke n'avoit pas visité cet édifice.*”—But how Mr. Dutens can venture either to put such words into my mouth, instead of the plain account I gave;—or to affirm that *Pococke* never visited the *Labyrinth*;—is to me very astonishing; because *Pococke* himself twice tells us positively the very contrary; and gives an exact description, in three folio pages, (Vol. I. p. 61, 62,) of his “*Going over the spot of this famous Building*,” and uses expressly these very words, —“*at length we came to the grand Building itself;*”—of which he then gives a very particular account; describing the *very pillars*, to be such as might support either long stones, or beams of timber; and such as may much rather be understood to have been meant by *Pliny*, in his description, than any thing like *Arches*.—And *Pococke*, after this, describes some of the rooms, as being still “*covered with large stones of such a length as to be laid from wall to wall;*”—(just, in truth, in the same manner as those that cover the great chamber, in the Great Pyramid).

Mr. Dutens' account (p. 8,) —“*de la Fontaine des Amans avec une belle voûte, et deux sépulcres couverts d'hiéroglyphiques;*”—is too ridiculous to be mentioned seriously, as a proof of the existence

of Arches *before* the time of Augustus.—One would almost think, that Mr. Dutens really depended upon a supposed ignorance, and want of judgment in some of his readers; and upon the indolence of others.—Surely he cannot have forgotten, that all over Egypt, antient remains of Sepulchres, Sarcophagi, and of fragments covered with hieroglyphicks, have been continually used, with other materials, and worked up in the walls of subsequent, and of modern Buildings.

Mr. Dutens, (p. 9,) then says,—Strabo speaks “*des célèbres Jardins de Semiramis, à Babylone, élevés sur les remparts de cette ville, et soutenus par des voûtes*.”—and adds, that Diodorus Siculus speaks of them in nearly the same terms.

But to say nothing of Mr. Dutens's mistake, concerning their being upon the ramparts of Babylon, (whereas they were nearly in the midst of the City);—nor concerning what I have already mentioned,* as to Dean Prideaux's mistake, when he speaks of these Gardens, as being sustained by vast Arches, built upon Arches, one above another;—if Mr. Dutens would have taken the trouble to read what I had written,† before he undertook to write against me, he might have found, from the very precise, and exact descriptions, given both by Diodorus, and by Quintus Curtius, of the very manner, in which these vaultings of the Hanging Gardens were formed, that there neither was, nor could be, any such thing, as a real Arch in them.

He then (p. 9) further adds, that Diodorus mentions the Subterraneous Passage, which Semiramis caused to be made, under the Euphrates, and says,—“*Le savant et judicieux Major Rennel, dans son excellent Traité de la Géographie d'Hérodote, compare cet ouvrage au canal projeté sur la Tamise, pour la communication des comtés de Kent et d'Essex, et qui devoit être construit en voûtes*.”—But as, on the one hand, Mr. Dutens might have seen, from an examination of the words of Diodorus himself, concerning the precise manner in which that Subterraneous Passage under the Euphrates was constructed, (which words I have given, with minute précision, in

* Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 249.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.

my former observations*), that there really was *no Arch* in that *Subterraneous vaulted Passage*, any more than in the *Great vaulted Gallery* of the first Pyramid in Egypt; and might also have seen, *how* it was actually formed, and built;—so I must inform him, that I have every reason to be assured, that Major Rennell himself, is now convinced, that there was *no Arch* introduced in the construction of that Passage.

Mr. Dutens then proceeds (p. 9) to insist upon the existence of *Arches*, in the *Temple of Solomon*;—and this he does, almost solely, on the authority of Lexicographers, and of the words made use of by some translators.—But as, in reality, that can hardly be deemed any authority at all, since the business of Lexicographers, is rather to attend to mere words, and common language, than to the real difference of things, and to the nice variation, and exact distinction of things, which, as arts and science increase, require many new additions to the words of every tongue on the face of the earth, in order to convey precise ideas; and demand a more copious language, than was common in early ages;—and as, in truth, our plain excellent English translation, *does never mention the word ARCH, from one end of the Holy Scriptures to the other*, in any one passage that I can by any possibility find, except in Ezekiel, ch. xl. v. 16;+ (where it seems

* Ibid. Vol. II. p. 246, 247.

+ The verse is,—Ezekiel, ch. xl. v. 16.—*And there were narrow windows to the little Chambers, and to their posts within the gate round about, and likewise to the Arches: and windows were round about inward: and upon each post were palm trees.*—But it deserves to be remarked, that in the marginal emendations of our English translation, the word *Galleries* is substituted instead of *Arches*:—and that there is not the least authority for supposing *Arches* to be intended here, from the Greek Septuagint translation:—for the word which the Greek Translators use, is *Αἶλαμ*, a word not vernacular to the Greek language;—nothing at all like it being to be met with, even in H. Stephens's Thesaurus, except it be in one place, in his Appendix, where he says, p. 310,—*Αἶλα* apud Cyprios pro καλὰ dici, tradit Etymol. &c. which word therefore certainly has no affinity to *Αἶλαμ*. And it is very remarkable, that in the very same verse, this word is, by our English Translators, twice translated *posts*.—The Greek Septuagint translation is,—ver. 16.—*Καὶ θυρίδες πρυμναὶ ἐπὶ τὰ θυρία, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἶλαμ ἵστανται τῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐλῆς κυκλῶσιν καὶ ὡσαύτως τοῖς Αἶλαμ θυρίδες κυκλῶ ἵστανται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Αἶλαμ φοίνικες ἵστανται καὶ ἵστανται.*—And though there is a little difference in some of the other words, in the Vatican copy, yet, in like manner, it repeats the word *Αἶλαμ*, three times.

to have been used inadvertently; and where it even renders the passage unintelligible);—so I must again say, that if Mr. Dutens, before he so eagerly undertook to dictate, would have employed a little of his leisure to peruse, what (with great reverence, and caution,) I did venture to write upon the subject,* he would have found, that even from the full account given in the Sacred Writings of the very manner, in which both the Temple of Solomon, and the Houses built by Solomon, were constructed, it appears, that there were no real Arches whatever, either in the Holy Temple, or in those Buildings.—And that further it appears, from the testimony of Josephus, and from many particulars related by Josephus, even concerning the Second Temple; that there were not any Arches even in that Sacred Structure, except it was in the magnificent Gateway, built by King Herod.

In (p. 10, 11, and again in p. 15, 16,) Mr. Dutens produces a number of very short citations, from the accounts of several Travellers, concerning *des voûtes*, found in the ruins of many antient Cities; which he flings like dust in our eyes, to hide the truth;—not considering, that not one of these citations do properly prove any thing.—For, in the first place, the Buildings he refers to, will, on close examination, be found, either to have had coverings, which though they might be called vaultings, were not arches, or arched vaultings.—And in the next place where any of them were really arched; yet there is no sort of proof of their having been constructed before the time of Augustus; nor any more reason for the concluding them to have been so, than there would be, to conclude St. Paul's, and Westminster Abbey, to have been as antient as the first Building of London.—The Greek Colonies, in Ionia, and other parts of Asia Minor;—Magnaesia,—Ephesus,—Miletus,—Mylasa,—Troas,—Patara,—and Halicarnassus,—whose Buildings Mr. Dutens refers to, had all of them, as well as Athens itself, various Buildings, constructed, at different times, from age to age;—and could hardly escape from having Structures reared in them by the command of the Emperor Adrian; whose reign was almost wholly employed in travelling

* Munimenta, Vol. II. p. 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228.

over the Empire, and in causing; every where, new Structures to be raised.

Mr. Dutens again persists, (p. 11) in mentioning the Lantern of Demosthenes, at Athens, as an instance of an *arched vault*;—referring to a representation, by Stewart, of—*la section de la coupole de ce monument, la Planche VIII. fig. 3.*—But he might have seen, both from a more careful examination of Mr. Stewart's Plates, and from the facts I alledged in my former reply to him,* that the covering is a mere hollowed single stone; and has no such thing as an *architectural Arch*, appertaining to it;—whilst the diameter of the whole Building within is only about five feet.

Mr. Dutens then, on the authority of a French Translator of Plutarch, ventures to mention the Temple of Minerva, built by Pericles, at Athens, as having a *Dome*, or *Cupola*; when the original words of Plutarch, even as cited by Mr. Dutens himself, do really imply no such thing:—and when the Ruins of the Temple, still remaining, and minutely examined by Mr. Reveley, shew that there was nothing like an *Arch* in it, any more than in the Temples at Paestum;—nor indeed was there an *Arch*, in any of the Buildings of Pericles.

The fair translation of the words of Plutarch, which I transcribe exactly from Mr. Dutens giving of them, *Τὸ δὲ ὀρεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοχλῆς ὁ Χολαργὺς ἐκαύθησε*, is surely, when as closely translated as possible,† neither more nor less than,—that *the opening for the smoke, over (or upon) the Temple, Xenocles the Cholargian formed at top.*—This leaves us entirely without any particular information *how* it was formed.—And when there are no vestiges appearing, in the well-known Remains of the Temple, of any thing like *the necessary supports of a dome*, it is surely great presumption to conclude, that there must have been one.—Almost any thing, however remote from the true meaning, may be

* Introduction to Vol. IV. of the *Munimenta*, p. 15.

† Even the Latin translation, which Mr. Dutens introduces in a note is—"Fastigio adyti fenestram addidit Cholargensis Xenocles."—Plutarchus in Vita Periclis, edit. Reisk, p. 619, Tome I.—And how *fenestra* must be concluded to mean either a *dome*, or a *cupola*, I cannot see.

concluded, or inferred from words, by such a lax mode of construction.

Mr. Dutens then (p. 12) cites, in a very unfair manner, the authority of Seneca;—not giving his express words, but, as it appears to me, misrepresenting them.

He says,—*Sénèque, en sa 90^e épître, dit qu'il ne peut croire que Démocrite (qui florissait 450 ans avant J. Ch.) fut, comme on le disoit, l'inventeur des voûtes, "contre le témoignage évident, ajoute-t-il, de tant "de monumens de cette espèce qui étoient élevés avant lui." Cela recule "l'usage des voûtes en Grèce, plus de cinq siècles avant J. Ch.*

These are the very words of Mr. Dutens (p. 12);—but I cannot find them to be consistent with facts.—For, in the first place, *Democritus*, we know, died only 361 years A. C. and therefore, the days of his flourishing could not well be 450 years A. C.—And in the next place, I cannot discover any *such words*, as Mr. Dutens cites, in *Seneca's* Ninetieth Epistle, from one end to the other; nor in any of his Epistles whatever.—The only words to be found in *Seneca's* Ninetieth Epistle, are those which I have exactly given before.*

"*Democritus, inquit, says Seneca, (referring, by this word, inquit, to Posidonius, whose opinions he was calling in question) invenisse dicitur fornicem,—ut lapidum curvatura paulatim inclinatorum medio saxo alligaretur.—Hoc dicam falsum esse.—Necesse est enim ante Democritum, et pontes, et portas fuisse, quarum fere summa curvantur.*"

Democritus is said to have invented the Arch, of such construction, that a curvature of stones, inclining by little and little towards each other, should be bound firm by a stone placed in the midst.—But this I should say was false.—Because of necessity before the time of Democritus, there must have been both bridges, and gates, whereof the tops must have been (or are) generally curved.—Such, and such only, are the words of Seneca:—and I cannot find that he any where adds, any words to this following purport, "contre le témoignage évident, de tant de "monumens de cette espèce qui étoient élevés avant lui."

* In the Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 5.

And as to the real words here cited, they are confuted by positive facts;—and prove no more, to the purpose, than the almost blasphemous beginning* of the same Epistle; or than the fallacious mode of reasoning, which, I must honestly confess, appears to me to run throughout the whole Epistle.

Bridges and Gates, we are assured, from many positive instances, (some of which, both at *Babylon*, and at *Rome*, I have already referred to),† did exist before the time of Democritus, without *Arches*:—and even most exact accounts which have been given to us, by antient Writers, of the precise mode of their construction have ascertained the fact.—*Seneca* therefore proves nothing as to the point in question, except that *Posidonius* did maintain the tradition.

This *Posidonius* seems to have been the contemporary of *Cicero*, and both a Philosopher, and extraordinary mechanical Artist.—He is mentioned in the Book *de Natura Deorum*, in these remarkable words:‡—“*Quod si in Scythiam, aut in Britanniam, sphaeram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noster effecit Posidonius, cujus singulae conversiones idem efficiunt in sole, et in luna, et in quinque stellis, errantibus, quod efficitur in caelo singulis diebus et noctibus, quis in illa barbarie dubitet, quin ea sphaera sit perfecta ratione?*—Were any one to convey into *Scythia*, or into *Britain*, the sphere which our late friend *Posidonius* made, whose several revolutions performed the same with regard to the sun, and the moon, and the five (planetary) wandering stars, as is performed day and night in the sky, (or heaven), who, even in that state of barbarity, could doubt, but that such a sphere was the work of intelligence?

In the same Tract, *Cicero* says, *Posidonius* was his Master, and Instructor, together with some others, whom he also names; adding,—“*a quibus instituti sumus, §—by whom we were taught (or educated);*—and he tells us further, *Posidonius* was of such emi-

* *Quis dubitare, mi Lucili, potest, quin Deorum immortalium munus sit, quod vivimus: philosophiz, quod bene vivimus.*

† Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 6, 7, 8, 9.—*Monimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 234, 245.

‡ *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, lib. ii. sec. 34.

§ *Ibid.* lib. i. sec. 3.

nence, that *Pompey* arriving at *Rhodes*, where he lived, desired to hear him; and when, on account of the then illness of *Posidonius*, he could not do so, was yet desirous, if it might be, *even merely to see him*.*

This *Posidonius* believed the tradition concerning the *recentness* of the Invention of the Arch; and concerning its having been *first introduced by Democritus*:—and surely it cannot but be allowable, to suppose, *such a man as this Posidonius*, to have been at least full as capable of judging concerning the authenticity of a tradition, relating to *such a matter*, as *Seneca*; who only assigns so very futile a reason for contradicting it.

Mr. Dutens (p. 12) then again cites the passage from *Plato*; which he had before cited;—and without taking any notice of the answer I had both printed, and sent to him;—although he has in many other instances, (evidently on account of my printed answers) altered his new publication, from the former copy.—I can only therefore say, that my former Reply,† appears still to my mind convincing, and fully sufficient.

The same I must also say, referring to my former remarks,‡ concerning the passage in *Aristotle's Treatise, de Mundo*, on which Mr. Dutens lays so much stress; notwithstanding his adding (p. 12, and p. 24) *French lax translations*, to perplex the subject:—and even allowing the Treatise to have been *Aristotle's* genuine production.—For, even taking the lax French translation, concerning the *covering stones*,—*Qui soutiennent tout l'édifice, par la résistance qu'elles opposent de toutes parts*,—to have been a just one; yet even these words are quite as applicable to *the great flat stones, laid across at the top*, to cover the approaching sides of the great Gallery in the first Pyramid, as to the *key stones*§ of any Arches, or even more so;—for such flat stones do indeed *support all the edifice*

* Cicero, *Tuscul. Disputationum*, lib. ii. sec. 25; and 2 Att. Ep. 1.

† In the Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 18.

‡ Ibid. p. 18.

§ It is a curious well-known fact, and ought not to be passed by unnoticed, on this occasion, that many antient *Roman Arches* have not what can properly be called any decided *key stone* at all.

above, over the side walls, and prevent their being crushed together; whereas it is not the *key stone* of an Arch, that, *alone*, either supports the edifice above, or prevents the sides from being crushed together, but merely the form and nature of the Arch, in every part;—and indeed every individual stone, in an Arch, supports, by its resistance of pressure, just as much as the *key stone*.—I must add, also, that the word *ὀμφαλός*, used by Aristotle, means simply, *umbilicus*,—or *umbo*,—a boss of a buckler,—or a middle part of a thing,—or the top of an hill.—And is not, by any Lexicographer that I am acquainted with, used to signify a *key stone*.

But even if the passage in Aristotle, could be supposed to prove that he was acquainted with the Arch, yet that does not shew that it was known *before* the time of Democritus, as Aristotle died only 322 A. C. and Democritus had died 361 A. C.—and therefore Aristotle might very well have known the nature of an Arch, even if it was the invention of Democritus.

In page (13 and 14), Mr. Dutens again refers to instances of the manner in which the words *ῥοῦδος*,—*ῥοῦδος*,—*ῥοῦδος*,—and *ῥοῦδος*,—are used, by various Greek Authors, of different ages.—I cannot, however, perceive any one reference of his, that is at all *decisive*, as to the point in question;—or to which the observations already made by me,* with regard to these words, may not be applied;—or that any of the references prove at all more, than that Rotundos;—*round Rooms*, did exist, covered with *conical roofs*:—a fact which I have ever allowed, and never did deny.—Such was the Tent of Achilles;—such the Tent of Xerxes;—such the covering of the Odeum at Athens;—and I will even allow, that a covering like that of our *Ranelagh*, might possibly exist in the most antient times.—But all this is no proof of the existence of the true *architectural Arch*, before the days of Democritus, and Aristotle.

And as to what Dio Cassius says, describing the *Pantheon* at Rome, that it was *ῥοῦδος*:—as he himself lived *after* the time of Augustus; when all these words, in Greek, were unquestionably

* Introduction to the fourth Volume of the *Munimenta*, p. 18, 19; and in the preceding pages of this little Tract.

used, for want of more precise ones, to describe really *arched* vaultings,—as well as mere *conical* vaultings, it proves nothing but what is consistent with my former remarks.

It is a very curious fact, that *conical* vaultings, and coverings for Buildings, are so much more easily constructed, than *arched* vaultings, and have ever been deemed so very strong, that when Sir Christopher Wren had first built the inner concave Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral of Brick, turned upon a wooden centre, he would not trust that Dome to support any Lantern:* but afterwards, *over this first Cupola*, raised a *Cone* of Brick, to support the Stone Lantern, that crowns the Building, and also to support the outward Dome; which itself is formed only of Timber covered with lead. The Cone of Brick, the antients unquestionably could have built, before the days either of *Archimedes*, or of *Democritus*;—but as to the inner *arched Dome of Brick*; or any *arched Dome of Stone* whatever; I still remain perfectly unacquainted with the existence of any such thing, in any instance, *earlier* than the age in which *Democritus* lived.

The method used by Sir Christopher Wren, to build the inner Dome of St. Paul's, where (as in the Pantheon) the open circle of masonry formed at the top, serves for the purpose of a *key stone*, is so very singular, and was such an uncommon invention, that it ought not to be passed by unnoticed:—he so constructed the very scaffolding, resting on the cornice† beneath, (on which the workmen stood, first to build, and afterwards even to paint,‡ and to adorn the Dome,) as to be itself the centre, on which to turn the Arch, without any standards from the floor beneath.§

And I cannot omit adding, that even Sir Christopher Wren had such apprehensions, concerning the nature of the bearings of an Arch, in forming his Dome, (dreading its property of expanding,

* See Parentalia, p. 291.

† The flat top of this cornice, is what now is called the *Whispering Gallery*.

‡ On this scaffolding it was, that Sir James Thornhill's life was saved, by his servant dashing out a part of a figure, which his master had just painted, and was retiring several paces backward to observe, till one foot was nearly on the utmost edge of the scaffold, and the next step would have precipitated him.

§ See Parentalia, p. 291.

and pressing outward), that he had the precaution, to gird the lower part of the arched Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, quite round, with a vast iron chain.—“For though the great colonade which encircles the Dome without, serves for the butment of the Dome, yet (says the Writer of the *Parentalia*,*) for greater caution, it is hooped with iron in this manner:—a chanel is cut in the bandage of Portland Stone, in which is laid a double chain of iron, strongly linked together at every ten feet, and the whole chanel filled up with lead.”

As to Mr. Dutens's reference, p. 15, and 24, to the Plates of *Jean Houël, Peintre du Roi de France*, published in his *Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Lipari, et de Malte,—à Paris, en 4 Vol. in fol. 1767*;—to say nothing of the questionable precision of *picturesque views*; they at most only prove, that *Arches* are indeed seen in those views;—but they prove nothing, as to the *real antiquity* of any of those *Arches*.

Mr. Dutens then says, p. 15,—that the *Etruscans* knew the use of *Voûtes*;—because in the environs of *Nola*, (a very antient Etruscan Village, near Caserta,) he was assured by persons of credit, there were *voûtes* constructed of travertine stone, well polished, in which were found *Etruscan Vases*.—His words are,—“*Plusieurs personnes de crédit, qui ont voyagé dans cette partie de l'Italie, m'ont assuré avoir été dans quelques-unes de ces voûtes, faites de pierre travertine très-bien polie, dans lesquelles on a trouvé des Vases Etrusques, et des Urnes Sépulcrales.*”

But here, in the first place, he does not appear to have been assured exactly, *how* those Vaults were covered in:—whether with conical coverings;—or with flat coverings;—or with coverings with plain sloping sides, meeting together;—or with *arched* coverings.—And even if he could have been assured that they were covered with *arched* coverings; yet their containing what are called *Etruscan Vases*, does not prove any thing, relating to the point in question.—Because, (to say nothing of possible pretended Italian discoveries of *Etruscan Vases*, no more to be relied upon, as remains of high antiquity, than Paduan Medals, as to originality;—

* P. 291, 292.

or than *Michael Angelo's*, discovered marble arm), I could never find any satisfactory account, of the time *when* the *Etruscan Ware* really *ceased* to be fabricated.—Nor indeed is it credible, now, since such *immense quantities* of it have been discovered in Italy, that it should either have been unknown to the Romans; or never have been used by them, during the long interval between the days of its *first Etruscan fabrication*, before the foundation of *Rome*, and those modern days, when it is allowed by Sir William Hamilton, and others, to have been found in quite common use, by the modern Country Villagers, in consequence of the vast quantities dug up.—It is much to be suspected, that the common fabrication of it continued, not only long after the days, either of *Democritus*, or of *Archimedes*, but even after the age of *Augustus*.

Mr. Dutens then repeats (in p. 16) his observations concerning the Great Gateway, that is found in the walls of *Pæstum*;—concerning the Aqueduct, and the Walls of *Carthage*;—concerning the *Cloaca Maxima*, at *Rome*;—and concerning the Aqueduct of *Ancus Marcius*.—But as he has added nothing material to what he had said before, the full answers that I have given, in the Introduction to my fourth Volume of the *Munimenta*, p. 15, 16, and p. 9, 10, 11, 12, (where I have closely adhered to all the original words of the several Authors) might suffice.—I must, however, just observe, that *Mr. Dutens* appears to me to suffer himself to be too much misled, by his partiality for French Translators:—and that I cannot comprehend, what he means, by saying (p. 16) that the *Syren*, in bass relief, upon the key stone, is evidently *d'ouvrage Etrusque*:—since he might just as well have made such a sort of light observation concerning the style of thousands of other pieces of sculpture, both of the time of *Adrian*, and which have been wrought long since that Emperor's reign.

I must add also, that as to what he says (p. 18) concerning the discovery made, in the year 1742, of *the Arches* of the *Cloaca Maxima*, under the *Forum Romanum*;—it proves nothing more, than that there were *then* discovered some of *the Arches* built by *Agrippa*; for we have every reason to believe, from the accounts given, that *Agrippa* did certainly cause the whole of that *great Sewer*

to be covered with Arches, except where it consisted only of passages, hewn through the rocks.

And I must also further add, that with regard to what Mr. Dutens says (p. 18), concerning the representations of the Aqueduct of *Ancus Marcius*, on the Consular Medals of the *Marcian* Family; it were to have been wished, that he had pointed out, which he particularly intended to refer to;—for as there were Consuls long after the time of Augustus, and even to the very dissolution of the Roman Empire, such Consular Medals, would only bear representations of the work, as repaired by Agrippa; and I am not aware of any others, that represent any Aqueduct with real Arches.

Mr. Dutens proceeds, (p. 19), in the last place, to mention the Tomb of *Scipio Barbatus*; in which he intimates, that he saw the skeleton of that great man.—His words are:—*Je ne dois pas omettre ici le tombeau des Scipions, découvert à Rome en 1781, et dans lequel je suis entré l'année suivante. Il est composé d'une longue galerie voûtée. On y voyoit alors plusieurs des hommes célèbres de cette illustre famille; entre autres LUCIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS, trisaïeul de Scipion l'Africain, dont le squelette étoit très-entier. Il avoit au doigt une bague que le Pape Pie VI. me fit l'honneur de me donner.*

All this, however, does not, to my apprehension, by any means invalidate the strength of the observations I ventured to make, in the Introduction to my fourth Volume, (p. 15), concerning the strong reasons there are to conclude, that the Tomb was constructed by *Scipio Africanus*;—or at least after the time of *Democritus*.

Mr. Dutens (p. 20) mentions the *Fountain of Egeria*, as built in the Time of *Numa*.

That there was a *Fountain of Water* there, in *Numa's* time, is not to be disputed; but surely not such a *Structure* as now stands there.

And as to the *Temple of Venus*,—the *Porta Salara*,—the *Ponte Salaro*,—the *Temple of Hope*,—the *Temple of Vesta*,—the *Ponte Rotto*, &c.—If Mr. Dutens will duly consider the style of those Buildings, and what other Antiquaries have observed concerning

them; he will find there wants better authority, than their merely being represented in the Plates of *Venuti*, for concluding any one of them, to have been *prior* to the Augustan age.

I come now to answer the regular list of direct, unjust charges, which, at the end of *the Supplement to his republication*, Mr. Dutens has brought against me.

He says (p. 22)—that I make the age of *Democritus* approach too near that of *Archimedes*.—For that *Democritus* flourished 460 years A. C. and *Archimedes* died 212 years A. C.;—which makes 250 years between the one and the other; and that I make only 150 years difference.—I answer, that *Democritus* in reality did die only 360 years A. C. aged 109;—and that *Archimedes* was killed in the midst of his mathematical studies, A. C. 208.—Supposing him therefore to have been at that time only 50 years of age; he must have been 20—in the year 238 A. C.; and supposing *Democritus* to have been in full possession of his faculties at the age of 70, he must have been flourishing, according to Mr. Dutens's expression, about the year 409; which at most makes only 171 years difference;—which is a very little more than 150; and a difference too trifling to be carped at;—especially as, in reality, *Democritus* might continue the full use of his faculties much longer; and *Archimedes* might begin to understand both *Mathematicks*, and *Architecture*, sooner than in the twentieth year of his life.

To say, with Mr. Dutens, that *Democritus* flourished 460 years A. C. is to say he flourished when he was not even 10 years old; which is almost ludicrous.—And after all, in a matter of so high antiquity, as about 2000 years ago; 130, or 150, or even 250 years, cannot reasonably be deemed a difference of any material consideration, as to placing the date of the Invention of the Arch; or of any discovery whatever.

Mr. Dutens (p. 22) repeats, with more eagerness, his strange observations concerning *Pococke*, in these words:

“ *M. King*, p. 14, allègue le silence de *Pocock* comme une preuve
“ que le Labyrinthe d'Egypte n'étoit pas soutenu par des voûtes; mais

"Pocock n'avoit pas vu cet édifice. Paul Lucas l'avoit visité, et nous en a donné le dessin.—Preuve affirmative contre une négative."

And I must therefore here repeat, that I did not alledge THE SILENCE of Pococke as a proof that the Labyrinth of Egypt was not supported PAR DES VOUTES; (or, WAS NOT SUPPORTED BY ARCHES); but that, on the contrary, as any one may see, who will take the trouble to consult my Book,—(Munimenta Antiqua, Vol. II. p. 239, 240, 241)—that I did affirm, (both in consequence of the very identical words, and description of Herodotus, who saw it;—and also in consequence of the very words, and description of Pococke, who positively affirms he also saw it), that there were no Arches in that Building.

So far from Pococke's having never seen it himself; his very words are, beginning his narration, (Vol. I. p. 61) *Going over the spot of this famous Building, the first thing I saw was, &c. &c. &c.*—And I must now add, that as to any distinction, between the Temple of the Labyrinth, and the Labyrinth;—surely Mr. Dutens needs not to be told, that the Labyrinth itself was always considered as a Sacred Structure, and Temple; and that we read not of any Temple distinct from it.—The most that can be said is, that the Temple was but a part of the Building.—Pococke even describes the cavities which he discerned in the walls of the Labyrinth, where he had reason to believe some of the sacred crocodiles had been deposited;—he says also, the whole Building was "covered with stone, doubtless laid on the many pillars that were in it."—And that the rooms underground, were, "without doubt, cut out of the rock, as those at Thebes."

I wish Mr. Dutens would have had the goodness, fairly to have read both what I had written, and what others had really written, in their own vernacular language, before he presumed to censure.

It were to be wished also, that he would not rely so much upon the authority of Paul Lucas, whose account is but too well known to be of no authority at all.

Mr. Dutens is pleased to affirm (p. 23) that what I have said concerning the Gate at Pestum, and concerning the Tomb of

Scipio, is begging the question.—I have only to beg any person would carefully peruse the remarks I have made, (in the *Munimenta*, Vol. II. p. 262, and in the Introduction to Vol. IV. p. 15), to shew how uncandid, and unfounded, this assertion is.—To say nothing of his hasty affirmation that the Gate is *de la même maçonnerie que les Murailles de cette Ville*.—And that the figure of the *Syren*, in bas relief, is *d'ouvrage Etrusque*;—when it would have been much more to the purpose, to have shewn decidedly, if he could, that both were of the same workmanship with the *Temples*.

Mr. Dutens then proceeds (p. 28) to misrepresent entirely, the remarks I had made, concerning the Arch mentioned by Cicero, as erected to the honour of *Fabius*.—His words are,—“*Parlant de l’arc de triomphe élevé à l’honneur de Fabius le Censeur, mort 360 ans avant J. Christ. M. King ajoute : just about the age of Archimedes ; justement vers le tems d’Archimède ; or Archimède est mort plus de 130 ans après l’élévation de ce monument. Voilà encore un siècle de différence que M. King semble compter pour rien.*”

But whoever will take the trouble fairly to read, what I did actually write (in p. 16 of my Introduction), will find that I did not say any thing like what he has represented.—I merely said, that the victory obtained by *Fabius*, was about 350 years A. C.;—and that the Arch must have been reared *after* that event; and *therefore* long after Democritus, and just about the age of Archimedes.

And I must now add, (whatever little inaccuracy there might be in that expression) in the first place, that *Fabius* could not well have been dead 360 years A. C. if the battle was fought afterwards, only 350 A. C.—And I must repeat, that even if the difference had really been more than 130 years, *between the rearing of the Arch, and the days of Archimedes*, yet, in considering dates at so early a period, as above two thousand years ago, two such dates might fairly be spoken of as *nearly approximating*.—I must, however, also repeat here, what I have said before, that I am willing to conclude the Arch to have been invented originally by *Democritus*, rather than by *Archimedes*:—and in that case, this *Fabian Arch*

certainly must have been erected *after* the first invention by *Democritus*, who died 360 or 361 years A. C. aged 109.—and therefore it is so far from disproving what has been said concerning the *recentness* of the Invention of the Arch; that Cicero's mention of it, is even a strong fact to confirm the truth of all that I have advanced.

Thus far I have reasoned upon *Mr. Dutens'* own grounds, even supposing the Arch to have been built by *Fabius the Censor*, (as he says) 360 years A. C.;—but there is one curious circumstance, that *Mr. Dutens* has not adverted to;—which is, that there is no sufficient proof of *this Arch* having in reality been built by *Fabius the Censor* himself, or even in his days.—For there was another *Fabius* of distinguished note, in the time of Cicero, and his contemporary; *Q. Fabius Sanga*, the then avowed Protector of the *Allobroges*, and to whom they discovered *Cataline's* conspiracy;—and it does not at all appear, but that this Arch might have been reared by him, or at least in his time, to the honour of his ancestor.—The Arch was at Rome, and in the *Sacred Way*;—and is expressly mentioned again, as being so, by *Cicero*, in his Oration *pro Plancio*,—where he says, —*non illum accuso qui est in summa sacra via, quum ego ad Fabii Fornicem impellor: sed eum qui in meipsum incurrit atque incidit.**—It is well known also, that there were many statues† of the *Fabian* family placed in, and about it;—which must have been placed there very much subsequent to the building of the Arch, if it were really built 350 years A. C. for otherwise they must have been placed there, *before the persons they represented were born*.—Even the great *Fabius Maximus*, was Dictator only 217 years A. C.

Mr. Dutens then says (p. 23), concerning my observations, as to the words of *Pliny*, relating to the Aqueduct of the *Aqua Marcia*:—*il entortille ce passage et l'embrouille*;—I must only refer any one to my plain account of the matter, (in p. 16 of the Introduction), to shew that there is no *twisting, or perplexing of the passage*

* *Pro Plancio*, sec. 7, Vol. V: Verburgii ed.

† These statues are mentioned in the Notes, Vol. III. p. 1057, of Verburgius's edition of Cicero's Works. In *Verrem*, Actio Prima, sec. 7.

on my part.—And I must now add, that Pliny (who lived in the time of *Trajan*) might very well describe it as *fornicibus structis perducta*, since its waters were indeed *at that very time* flowing on Arches, constructed either by *Agrippa*, on his making the great repair, in the time of Augustus, or by *Q. Marcius Rex*, 120 years A. C. as Pliny himself intimates.*

Mr. Dutens then says (p. 24), that I again *beg the question*, with regard to the Treasury of *Minyas*;—and very unhandsomely exclaims, that the doing so, is my “*grand cheval de bataille*.”

He says, that I beg the question, by imagining “*que cet édifice pouvoit fort bien avoir été rebâti plusieurs siècles après le tems de Minyas*.”—But whoever will consult fairly what I have said upon the subject, (in my Introduction, p. 17, 18), will find, that I rest nothing upon any such supposition:—but that, fairly referring to the *original words* of Pausanias, I do say, and I do here again affirm, that he evidently describes, not *an arched dome*, but a *conical covering, ending in a sharp point at top*.

I do also still affirm, that as *Pausanias*, who thus saw it, and thus describes it, lived above 1500 years after the time of *Minyas*, that it most probably *had been rebuilt*.—And whether it had, or had not, the existence of such a *conical cupola*,† proves nothing

* See the words of Pliny at length in my Introduction, p. 16.

† Mr. Dutens might almost as well produce the covering of a *Kaffer Tent*, in Africa, as an instance of an *arched Dome*.—Mr. Barrow thus describes the Tent, or House of a King of the *Kaffers* (Vol. II. p. 115):—“His House, like all the rest in the Town, was built in a circular form, being about sixteen feet in diameter. The bottom part, to the height of four feet from the ground, was stone laid in clay, and wooden spars erected at certain distances. On the east side of the circle, about the fourth part of the House was open, the other three fourths entirely closed.—A round pointed roof covered the whole in the form of a tent, well thatched with long reeds, or with the straws of the holcus.—From the centre to the back part of the House, a circular apartment is made off, with a narrow entrance into it, where the head of the family takes his nightly rest; the other members of the family sleep in the fore part, or between the large and small circles of the House.”

This account is the rather here inserted at length, because it shews how *corresponding* primitive ideas were on all parts of the earth, from whatever origin (either Arabian, or other) the *Kaffers* were derived:—for it is impossible for an intelligent mind to avoid combining the idea of such a *Kaffer Tent*, with that of a British circular Hut, or House, as described (in the first Volume of this Work) from unquestionable authority, and from unquestionable Remains.

with regard to the date of *the Invention of the Arch*;—for I ever have allowed, that such Structures both might exist, and did exist, long before the Invention of *the Arch*; as well as the coved covering of the Great Gallery in the first Pyramid of Egypt.—And I must tell *Mr. Dutens* again, that such structures may be *vaultings*, but that they are no proofs of the existence of any *Arch*, or *arched vaultings*.

His observations concerning the passages in *Aristotle*, and *Plato*, I have already answered:—yet I will reply to his last question, with regard to those words, repeated by him with energy, (p. 25);—though that question is perhaps too futile to receive a serious answer.—He demands;—“*Comment un pierre, posée à plat sur l'ouverture d'une voûte, pouvoit elle servir de clef à l'ouvrage, et en arreter toutes les parties?*”—How can a stone placed flat on the opening of a vault, how can it serve as a key to the work, and stop (or support) all the parts?

And I reply flatly, that his *French words* are a mistranslation; and a misrepresentation, both of the original words of *Aristotle*, and of my explanatory words, (in my Introduction, p. 18),—for there are no words in the original Greek,* that demand to be translated *key to the work*,—or *key stone*;—neither have I ever said, that such stone, so placed, would be *a key to the work*.—But I have said, such stone *lying in, and on the middle parts of the structure*, would preserve the whole in *harmony and strength*, (according to the very words of the original Greek,—*ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ Τηροῦσι, καὶ ἐν Τάξει*;—that is, would preserve the whole, both from any superincumbent weight, and from the sides being by such incumbent weight pressed together.—And I affirm, that we have had proofs of such stones doing so most effectually; both in the Hanging Gardens of Babylon; and in the Bridge under the Euphrates;

* The word used by Aristotle, is *ομφαλοῖς*; and H. Stephens says, Vol. II. p. 1312, *ομφαλός* dicitur media pars inter duo κέρατα cornua.—*ομφαλός* vocatur etiam umbilicus fornicis, id est lapis continens compagem et coagmentationem sese forficum modo intersectantem.—Sic et in forfice umbilicus nominari potest.—I have already remarked, p. 30—2, that *ομφαλός* is used to mean *a boss of a buckler*;—*a middle part of a thing*;—or *the top of an hill*.

the precise mode of constructing which works has even been accurately given to us, by the most authentick antient Writers.—We have proofs also of such stones serving for this purpose, in the great coved Gallery of the first Pyramid, at Gize, in Egypt, and also in other Pyramids at Sakara:—and even of Roman Bricks placed in like manner, doing so, in many antient flues of Roman Hypocausts.

I reply further, that let the words of *Aristotle* import even whatever *Mr. Dutens* pleases, yet as *Aristotle** certainly lived after the time of *Democritus*, and I have (throughout the whole of my Introductory Tract) readily admitted that the Arch might indeed be invented by *Democritus*, those words do in no wise prove the invention of the Arch to have been of an earlier date.

Mr. Dutens concludes, with saying, (p. 25,) in addition to his words just cited, “ *Ne faut-il pas avoir fermé les yeux, de crainte de voir la vérité, pour avancer une telle proposition?—J’en appelle à M. King lui même:—il a trop d’esprit et de savoir pour ne pas se rendre à l’évidence de ce raisonnement, quand il y aura fait un peu d’attention: il me remerciera alors de lui avoir donné l’occasion de rectifier son erreur.*”

I conclude, on my part, with saying finally in reply, that my mind is, with the utmost candour, ever open to conviction; and that I utterly abhor the mean subterfuge of shutting my eyes for fear of perceiving the truth, in this, or in any case whatever.—But arguments must be much stronger, and better founded on real facts, than those of *Mr. Dutens*, to induce me to alter my sentiments in this matter.—I am ever ready to yield to reason, and argument;—but it must be to sound reason,—and to fair argument;—and therefore I have no other thanks to return to *Mr. Dutens*, than that he has given an occasion to the investigating this subject more fully.

There is no end of answering a number of positive assertions, concerning the appearance of Arches in the ruins of antient Cities, in this place, or in that, where there is no precise proof as to the respective dates of those Buildings, or whether they were

* Aristotle was born 384 A. C, and died 322 A. C.

constructed in the earliest, or only in the latest periods of the existence of such Cities.

I have confined myself to trace, with caution, *positive facts*.^M And from the detailed consideration of the Gates, and Arches, in Rome, in the second Volume of the *Munimenta* (from p. 269 to p. 273); and from what has been added in the Introduction to this fourth, it appears to me, that almost *every Arch in Rome* may be ascertained to have been either of the very age of *Augustus Caesar*; or constructed in some subsequent period.—It appears also that no Arches are mentioned in our English translation of *Holy Scripture*, except in one Chapter,* and that by mistranslation;—or by *Homer*;—or by *Herodotus*;—and that no Arches existed at Thebes, or elsewhere in Egypt;—or in Babylon;—or at Persepolis;—or even at Athens;—before the time of *Augustus Caesar*, or at least before that of *Democritus*.

Nevertheless I am not obstinately tenacious of any opinion;—nor do I wish to impose my opinion upon others.—In every instance I simply state facts, and candidly leave every man, *capable of judging*, to judge for himself.

* This has been mentioned (p. 8).—And it is very remarkable, that in our English version, throughout the whole chapter (which is the 40th of Ezekiel) the marginal notes *correct* the reading, and substitute the words *Galleries*, or *Porches*, instead of the word *Arches*.—And the Latin translation, printed at London, by Middleton, A. D. 1585, never names any thing like an *Arch*, but translates the words of the 16th verse, — *ac ipsis etiam pteromatis vestibuli*:—whilst, in the notes by Tremellius, and Junius, it is added, *Hos autem muros, in pronais et vestibulis Vitruvius appellat pteromata*.—The Vulgate, also, throughout the whole chapter, never once has any words that tend to the intimation of any thing like an *Arch*.—And in this 16th verse, the words are only, — *Et fenestras obliquas in thalamis, et in frontibus eorum, quæ erant intra portam undique per circuitum: similiter autem erant ei in vestibulis fenestra per gyrum intrinsecus, et ante frontes pictura palmarum*.—And throughout the whole chapter, where the Septuagint has the word αἶθρῶν, or αἶθρῶν, or αἶθρῶν, or αἶθρῶν, or αἶθρῶν, the Vulgate, as well as the Latin translation just referred to, has uniformly the word *vestibulum*, or *vestibula*.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE this Appendix was written, and whilst it was in the press, I received from Mr. Dutens a *third Publication*, written by him in our English language, in answer to some very acute remarks, made by some learned person, in the *Edinburgh Review*, for January 1806.

Who the intelligent Author of those Remarks was, I know not;—neither had I ever seen, or heard of them, till just a day or two before Mr. Dutens sent to me this his third Tract:—but as they are very accurate, and interesting; and throw much new light upon the subject; adding circumstances, different from those which had been adverted to by me; I cannot but refer any reader to them, who is at all curious in these kind of researches, leaving him to judge of the strength of Mr. Dutens's Reply; and without transcribing even a single passage from those Remarks, in confirmation of my own ideas.

But, at the same time, whereas in a *Postscript*, Mr. Dutens says, “I had wrote thus far, when I acquired another strong proof of the existence of Arches four hundred years before Christ;”—and then proceeds to describe the *Emissario* of the Lake Albano;—I cannot avoid adding, that if he had but taken the trouble to cast an attentive eye upon my Introduction to this fourth Volume of the *Munimenta*, to which he refers on so many other occasions, he might have seen that (in p. 20) this *Emissario*, or Outlet of the Alban Lake, had been taken notice of by me already, with the fullest attention, both as to the account given of it by *Livy*, and *Cicero*; and also as to its construction, and present appearance: and has been shewn to be very far from affording any proof, of the existence of an Arch in the time of *Camillus*; or of any Arch that could have been built by him;—though I must now also add, that even if it did afford such proof; yet as *Democritus* (according

to Diogenes Laertius) died 361 years before Christ, at the age of 109, it would be no proof of the existence of an Arch before the time of Democritus; because Democritus must have been living, and 75 years old, in the year 395 before Christ, when the draining of the Lake was undertaken by Camillus.

And I must further add also, that whoever will examine with attention Piranesi's representation of the present magnificent Façade, in his *Vedute del Lago Albano*, to which Mr. Dutens refers, will plainly perceive, that even there the whole of the original drain, the *Emissario*, the work of Camillus, appears to have been a mere mining excavation, of small dimensions, hewn out, or cut through the rock, and hill, without any arched masonry at all;—and that the entrance of the *Emissario*, even in the Façade itself, appears, in this view of Piranesi's, still covered at top merely by a flat stone, instead of being a stone Arch;—and that the magnificent Arch, of the great facing of stone work against the side of the hill, is so far from carrying decided marks of the highest antiquity, that it has even a regular key stone, rising higher upwards than the other stones; and regular stones projecting outwards, one on each side, as imposts;—and a sort of rustic work, on the supporting walls, on each side:—and indeed such kind of proportion, and ornamental design, as seems to indicate its being of a much later age than that of Augustus.

Let any one look on the Arches shewn by Piranesi himself to exist, on the outside of the walls of the Pantheon, and see how different they appear to be.—Or let him look at the antient Arches, as represented by Piranesi himself, in the many really antient ruins near Castel Gandolfo, and the Lake Albano, in his

Rovine d'Antico edificio nella Villa Barberina presso Castel Gandolfo;

in his *Veduta della Spelonca, detta il Bergantino, presso l'imbocco dell'*

Emissario del Lago Albano;

in his *Elevazione e prospetto d'un' altra piscina esistente nella vigna de'*

PP. della Compagnia di Gesu a Castel Gandolfo;

and in his *Rovine dell' Anfiteatro detto di Domiziano nell' orto de' Monaci di S. Paolo d' Albano.*

Let any intelligent person well examine all these ; and then let him say, if it be possible to consider the Façade, at the mouth of the *Emissario*, as having been even nearly of so high antiquity as any of them.

Are we to say, the age of *Camillus* was a more skilful, more scientific, more magnificent age, than that of *Augustus*?—And also, that Rome, and its environs, or at least that some of the Structures, were full as magnificent in the days of *Camillus*, as in those of *Augustus*, or even of the *Antonines*?

Piranesi's View of the *Emissario*, agrees perfectly well with *Kircher's* exact description,* which, as to the *Emissario* itself, conveys simply the idea, of a passage being cut or hewn through the rock, and even of unequal height, in different parts ;—so far from its having any regular arched masonry ;—and the only Arch he speaks of, is that great facing placed in front of the rock ; whose appearance is most superb.—This magnificent Façade, it is very remarkable, is approached through plantations of trees ;—is just beneath *Castel Gandolpho*, which has been the country autumnal residence of the Popes for centuries ;—and from its whole style, and appearance, this Façade, as delineated by *Piranesi*, is much more likely to have been added, for ornament, to the entrance of this celebrated subterraneous Canal, by one of the magnificent Pontiffs, than to have been any work of the Romans, either in early ages, or even in the time of the Emperors.

The greater part of all the adjacent Ruins, are well known to be Remains of Buildings constructed in the reign of *Domitian*, and they seem evidently to shew, upon comparison, that this great Arch of the *Emissario* could not have been built, even so early as in his days ;—in short the whole stile of the Arch is such, that it would hardly be absurd, or impossible, to suspect it, from *Piranesi's* representation, to have been built even so late as in the

* The words of *Kircher* are,—*Ingens occurrit arcus, quadris lapidibus ingenti mole adinstar prægrandis portæ constructus, quam ubi subieris, tum ecce Canalis latitudinis septem palmorum se spectandum præbet ;—altitudo pro diversa terrenarum partium conditione varia est, jam depressior, modo altior ; ubi maxima est, decem palmorum deprehenditur.*—*Kircheri Latium Vetus et Novum*, p. 39, 40.

time of Pope Alexander the Seventh, about the year 1660, who bestowed more cost than almost any of the Popes in ornamenting the Palace of *Castel Gandolfo*, and its environs.

The Antiquary's care should be, to distinguish carefully Buildings, and Works, and even the parts of Buildings, one from another, that deserve to be distinguished, as to their different ages;—and not to confound them together, because they chance to be found on the same spot.

It is now incumbent upon me to remark further; that notwithstanding Mr. Dutens's neglect to take any notice, in his Postscript, of what I had previously written, concerning the *Emissario of the Alban Lake*, yet he is very eager to take notice of a little apparent erratum (in my Introduction, p. 11), occasioned by an omission of the word *nearly*; by omitting which word, I mention *Pliny* as living in the days of *Trajan*, about the year 100 A. D, though *Pliny* died A. D. 79.—But notwithstanding I acknowledge this may be considered as an erratum, yet I must desire Mr. Dutens to recollect, that the difference is only 21 years;—that *Pliny* was 56 years old when he died, in the year 79;—that *Trajan* was 64 years old when he died, in the year 117;—and therefore must have been 26 years of age when *Pliny* lost his life;—and that, in reality, both *Pliny* the elder, and *Pliny* the younger, were intimately known to *Trajan*; as appears from the younger *Pliny's* Letters.

I cannot conclude, without adding, with regard to the passages cited from *Aristotle*, and *Plato*, (as Mr. Dutens still again refers to them),—that the proper and original meaning of the word *phalix*, is *forfex*, a pair of sheers, or any thing constructed in the form of a V, or inverted A,—as a phalanx of soldiers,—or even as mere sticks so placed;—which (with the point cut off, or a little flattened), is almost the precise form of the coved covering of the great Gallery, in the first Pyramid,—or of the flue of an Hypocaust.—And when *Scapula* says, (p. 1835)—*Apud Architectos phalides dici traduntur in fornicibus, et frontibus edificiorum, maxime vero in fornicato aditu portarum, oblongi lapides, qui in sui coagmentatione forficum figura efficiunt*,—it leads us to the apprehension of the form

of a *triangular pediment* of a Building, much rather than to that of an *Arch*, though he immediately cites, both *Plato de Legibus*, lib. xii. —and *Aristotle de Mundo*, the very passages to which Mr. Dutens refers. —And though he also adds, as a further explanation of the meaning of the word, —*item ipsæ fornices seu structuræ arcuatæ*; —for it is apparent from hence, that both *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, may fairly be concluded to have meant, much rather, *the obtuse triangular sort of coving*, or vaulting, —than *the really arched vaulting*.

The same Lexicon, p. 175, allows ἀψίς, in its primary signification, to mean merely *connexio*, or *vinculum*.

And the same Lexicon, p. 643, informs us, *ab Hesychio*, as one of the properest significations of the word, that θολός, —*domus est tectum habens in acutum fastigium desinens*, —which surely means, a *conical covering*.

And in another place, the Lexicon explains θολός —as *chamera ædificii, quæ altius crescens rotunda forma in fastigiatum cacumen desinit*; —and in *fastigiatum cacumen*, is surely, *sharpened at top like a cone*, or *pyramid*.

All which is perfectly consistent with what has been already observed, from the great authority of *H. Stephens*; —and totally frustrates any dependance upon the passages in *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, as being any *decided* proofs of the real existence of any *Arches* in their time.*

* It has been suggested, that possibly, the Fire Temple, of which a representation is given in Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, (ca. 29, tab. vii. p. 359) might be some proof of an high antiquity of the Arch, before the time of Augustus. —But the very words of Hyde himself, refute this idea: —for he says (p. 359) that “*antecedentibus temporibus, antequam Religiosus servaretur Ignis, nulla erant Templâ veterum Persarum, quippe qui omnia sua Sacra sub dio peragebant: ideòque in suâ religione et linguâ non habebant Templi nomen.*” —*In antient times, before sacred fire was kept up, there were no Temples belonging to the antient Persians, because all their sacred Rites they performed in the open air: and therefore, both in their religion and language, they had not even a name for a Temple.* —And again, in the very page, in which is given the representation of the *Fire Temple*, he says, —“*nulla itaque apud veteres Persas erant Templâ, donec perveniretur ad Pyræa, seu Ignis Domicilia.*” —And afterwards describing the Fire Temples existing in after ages, he says, (p. 360) —“*Quoad externam Pyreorum Figuram, Thevenotus in Itinerario dicit, Antiqua Ignis Templâ superne aperta: scilicet relictis in Cupola foraminibus, ut exeat Fumus, non autem ita ut pluvia*

"extinguat Ignem inferius in medio Foco ardentem. Et Bundâri tradens quod Zerdusht
 "extruxit Domicilia Ignis refert;—جعلها قبابا رفعة—*fecit ea cum Cupolis excelsis.*"—And
 both these descriptions, and especially that where the words are *cupolis excelsis*, with *high*
cupolas, are much more applicable to such Structures as might have the tops in the form of a
cone,—like a Glass-house, or Tile-kiln,—than to any Structures covered with an arched
 Dome;—whilst the figure of the *Fire Temple*, given by Hyde, Tab. viii. p. 359, is that
 of such a Building as can hardly be supposed to have existed any where, in any age;
 and is not even pretended to be from any drawing taken on the spot, by any person
 whatever; and indeed seems merely to have been copied from *Picart's Religious*
Ceremonies, Vol. IV. p. 412; where also it has no other authority, than a slight re-
 ference to *Lord's History of the Religion of the antient Persians.*

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE my writing this last sheet, Mr. Dutens has sent into the world, and has presented to me, a fourth publication;—but as its contents are chiefly mere repetitions, and emendations, I can find nothing that demands any further notice, except that he adduces, as a new, and additional proof of the high antiquity of the Arch, a passage from Sallust, concerning *Il Carcere Tulliano*, which he says is a strong proof of the existence of *Arches*, five or six hundred years before Christ.

The passage is well known.—*Est Locus in Carcere quod Tullianum appellatur eum muniunt undique Parietes, atque insuper Camera, Lapideis fornicibus vincta.*—But as the word *fornix*, was equally used by the Romans, in the days of Sallust, to describe a structure covered in by side walls, built inclining towards each other as they advanced upwards, and crowned at the top by a flat stone; as well as to describe an *Arch*;—and was even used to describe the structure of the flues of *Hypocausts*, which are well known to have been usually of that very form; this passage cannot be relied on as any proof at all:—and much less can it be relied on, when *Venuti*, to whom Mr. Dutens refers expressly, says in his *Roma Antica*, Tom. I. p. 58, *that the work in question was repaired by the Ediles, C. Vibius, and Cocceius Nerva, whose names are over the Prison*;—and when therefore it is much more probable, that the covering part of the Den, or the *Camera Lapideis fornicibus vincta*, whatever kind of *coved covering* those words may denote, (if it was not a mere excavation, or cavern cut in the rock), was in reality the work of those *Ediles*;—and not either of *Tullus Hostilius*, or of *Servius Tullius*.—Boissardus says, in his *Topographia Romana*, printed in 1597, Vol. I. pars 2,—*Erat autem Tullianum sicut hodie videmus duplex superior et inferior Camera*:

superiori extat adhuc foramen spiraculi causa additum, ut retulit Flaccus. And from this description of there being *two dungeons, one beneath the other*;—as well as from these words:—*quod Syracusis ubi hac de causa custodiuntur, vocantur Lathomie*:—wherein, as well as in the words immediately following, he compares it to the *Lathomias*, or dreadful dungeons *hewn out of the rock*, or quarries, at Syracuse, we may even be led to suspect, that it was in like manner merely hewn out of a rock,—and that Sallust's words of its being *camera lapideis fornicibus vincla*, were intended to describe the stone coved covering of rock, left remaining over head, rather than any real Arch of masonry, or artificially constructed vaulting.

Mr. Dutens concludes with these words,—“*In short the state of the question is this: was the use of Arches known long before the time of Augustus?—I say yes: five or six hundred years before Christ, and to prove it, I want only what I have alledged about the Cloaca Maxima, the Gate at Pastum, the Carcer Tullianum, and the Authorities of Posidonius and Seneca on Democritus.*”

From these words one might conclude, that Mr. Dutens had forgotten that *Posidonius*, and *Seneca* were not of the same opinion, with regard to the date of the Invention of the Arch;—and that *Seneca* was, in reality, with no small degree of conceit, and vanity, fastidiously opposing the opinion of *Posidonius*.

I have endeavoured to shew, that *Posidonius* may very well be allowed to have been the better judge.—And after the full, and fair observations, that I have endeavoured to offer to Mr. Dutens's consideration, in the preceding pages of my answers to him, concerning the *Carcer Tullianum*,—the *Gate at Pastum*,*—and the *Cloaca Maxima*,+—I can only now say, that I must here leave my ingenious antagonist, to his own convictions.

This full reply I have thought it needful, on this occasion, to make, to repel unjust charges, and to shew that I have advanced nothing hastily.—But it is both my desire, and full purpose, to

* Introduction, p. 15.—Appendix, p. 17, 20.—And see *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 262.

+ Introduction, p. 9, 10, 11, 15.—Appendix, p. 17.—And see *Munimenta Antiqua*, Vol. II. p. 269.

avoid controversy, on any subject, with any person whatever.—
My only motive, in all my Researches, and in all that I have
written, on any subject, has ever been merely to acquire useful
knowledge;—and to obtain some apprehension of truth.—And
as I received convictions that were satisfactory to my own mind,
I have been willing freely to communicate them to others.

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MUNICIPALITY ANTICQUA

THE APPENDIX

TO SUCH PARTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME

AS RELATE TO THE HISTORY OF THE

ANTICQUA

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TO THE

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